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LATIN AMERICA REPORT

CONTENTS

INTER-AMERICAN AFFAIRS

Frei Betto Urges Confrontation With 'Imperialist Oppression'
(Frei Betto Interview; EL PERIODISTA, 9-15 May 86)........ 1

BOLIVIA

Government Reportedly Willing To Hold Dialogue With COB
(EL DIARIO, 5 May 86) 5

Columnist Points to Urgency of New Investment Law
(Samuel Mendoza; PRESENCIA, 18 Apr 86) 7

CHILE

Pinochet: Political Laws To Be Implemented in Second Phase
(Augusto Pinochet Interview; QUE PASA, 24-30 Apr 86)...... 9

Reportage on Civic Assembly Action on 'Chile Demands' Document
(ANALISIS, 29 Apr-5 May 86; CAUCE, 5-11 May 86)........... 18

Main Grievances Listed 18
Assembly Approves Text 21

National Accord To Approve Constitutional Reform Proposal
(Juan Jorge Faundes; CAUCE, 28 Apr-4 May 86).............. 30

National Human Rights Commission Reports New Torture Methods
(CAUCE, 28 Apr-4 May 86)................................... 34

Columnist Views U.S. Political Pressure, Economic Aid
(Carlos Portales; MENSAJE, May 86)........................ 36

Episcopal Conference Document Urges Constitutional Reforms (MENSAJE, No 348, May 86).................................... 40

Communist Party Leader Discusses Leftist Coalition (Luis Guastavino Interview; UNIDAD, 24 Apr 86)............ 42

MAPU Leader Barrueto Aims To Achieve Unity of Leftist Forces (Victor Barrueto Interview; ANALISIS, 29 Apr-5 May 86).... 45

Christian Democrat, Communist Leaders Explain Differences (Jose Ruiz Di Giorgio Interview; QUE PASA, 30 Apr-7 May 86).. 49

Cluster Bomb Shipment Reportedly Loaded Onto Iraqi Aircraft (HOY, 28 Apr 86).. 57

Government Unemployment Figures Said To Be Distorted (Estaban Jadresic; MENSAJE, No 348, May 86)............... 60

Cochilco President Analyzes Prospects for Copper Industry (Patricio Jarpa Interview; ERCILLA, 23 Apr 86)............ 65

Installation of Important Methanol Plant Begins (Rosario Alvarez P.; ERCILLA, 23 Apr 86).................. 71

MEXICO

Controversy Envelops Issue of Government Food Subsidies (various sources, various dates).......................... 73

- Key 29 April Statement 73
- Losses in Buying Power Described 74
- New White Bread Prices 77
- Tortibonds Issued 78
- Tortibonds Criticized, by Pedro O. Ramirez 80
- Assurances From CONASUPO Head 81

Bishops Appeal for Christian Behavior in Political Life (DOCUMENTACION E INFORMACION CATOLICA, 10-17 Apr 86)...... 83

Several Grassroots Church Communities Described by Members (CHRISTUS, Mar 86).. 93

/12675

INTER-AMERICAN AFFAIRS

FREI BETTO URGES CONFRONTATION WITH 'IMPERIALIST OPPRESSION'

Buenos Aires EL PERIODISTA in Spanish 9-15 May 86 p 34

[Interview with Frei Betto, Brazilian theologian and priest, by Julio Huasi in Buenos Aires: "Like Jesus, We Suffer Imperialist Oppression"; date not given; passages within slantlines published in italics; first paragraph is EL PERIODISTA introduction]

[Text] Frei Betto, a well-known Brazilian priest and author of "Fidel y la religion," told EL PERIODISTA: "America has a church that legitimizes oppression, even launders dirty money from drug traffic, and it is a church for the poor."

"If the social structures obstruct love and brotherhood, it is a Christian's duty to fight against such structures and their domination over peoples." Frei Betto, a Brazilian theologian and priest, said this during a long interview last week in Buenos Aires with EL PERIODISTA. The Dominican priest was invited by the Foreign Relations Institute, but was only here 30 hours. He introduced the Argentine edition of his book "Fidel y la religion," a thick transcript of his conversations with the Cuban leader "about human and divine affairs and the historic fertility of dialogue between Christians and Marxists in Latin America." Born in Belo Horizonte in 1944, Frei Betto first achieved notoriety by opposing the military regime that overthrew the government in 1964. A political prisoner for 4 years, he was on the verge of death at the end of a 36-day hunger strike "against a dictatorship that tortured and oppressed the people." Now he is one of the most eloquent spokesmen for liberation theology.

He said: "My mental image of God comes from Jesus' public life, a man who died as a political prisoner in Roman-occupied Palestine. As the First Letter of John says, he who loves knows God. However, there is no such thing as Christian love and non-Christian love. There is a single human love in which God is present, whether revealed by a girl in love for the first time, the South African black who rebels against apartheid, solidarity with a Nicaragua under attack, or the love of the Mothers of Plaza de Mayo...."

[Question] Can it be said that God loved them but permitted their children to be kidnapped and murdered?

[Answer] It is not that....That is a negation of God's love. The wrath of God falls on the scandalous, dark void created by those kidnappings. God's love is revealed in those mothers' thirst for justice. Liberation theology is not the creation of theologians who come later, but the creation of the Latin American peoples, their liberating experience. The essence of that love, of Jesus, and of that theology is commitment to life. Those who are against life are, by necessity, against Christ. Jesus signifies rebellion against death which is incarnate today in imperialist domination, the injustice of capitalism. That rebellion means that we must live as brothers. As Christians, we must fight against the structures that aid the cause of death in order to create brotherhood, the essence of God throughout history. This is the revolutionary side of Jesus which reappears in Latin America through liberation theology. Jesus did not preach the /church/ but the /Kingdom of God/, which is human transcendence. The construction of that kingdom entails the construction of a society of justice, solidarity, and equality. To believe that the /church/ is more important than the /kingdom/ is pure hypocrisy. The oppressor is the one who causes violence and, therefore, we Christians must confront that oppressor and conquer him.

[Question] Your books mention "loving the oppressor." What does that mean?

[Answer] /Loving him/ in a Christian way means eliminating all structural opportunities for him to continue to oppress, disarming him as an oppressor, helping him achieve human dignity and recognize the /other/ as his brother, not his victim....

[Question] Is that possible in this kingdom?

[Answer] Liberation is possible when the poor fight for a kingdom of justice--that is, love without oppressors.

[Question] There has been a lot of cultural and political syncretism in Latin America, especially in the last three decades of dialogue between Christianity and Marxism. Or is that just a historic illusion?

[Answer] We Latin Americans, as young societies, devour and assimilate all cultures, not just native ones and the Christian influence, but African ones, European rationalism, and Marxism. We assimilate them into our life and our history. Christianity itself is reached by that process. The Christianity that is flourishing on our continent is not like the old church in Europe. The latter is like a museum and does not attract youths or workers. We are less Cartesian and more open to the fertility of life. Therefore, Christians and Marxists encounter each other in the fight for justice. This syncretism is very clear in the experiences of Cuba and Nicaragua. In 1980, the leadership of the Sandinist Front produced the first document on religion by a revolution in power and did it in a positive way. In my long interview with Fidel Castro, the Communist revolutionary developed very advanced ideas that did not come from the old Marxist manuals on religion. Fidel revives Marx' historical dialectical perspective....Fidel is not a Christian, but he has a Christian background. Fidel lives values that, to us, are Christian values. I would say that Fidel is a prophetic man within Marxism, capable of perceiving a new road. I truly feel that the /new man/ in Latin America will be objectively revolutionary and subjectively mystical, a mixture of Che Guevara and San Juan de la Cruz. I believe that Marxism has not yet fully developed its theory of human subjectivity and that we Christians can make an important and necessary contribution here. A new Latin American is being shaped in Nicaragua. What is most impressive to me is the synthesis by the people with Sandino as the expression of their nationality, Che Guevara as the expression of the continental scope of liberation, and Jesus as the expression of the universality of the fight for justice, the gift of oneself even at the price of death in order to create a just and fraternal life.

[Question] Some people say that liberation theology is Marxist manipulation of Christianity.

[Answer] I know that very well. That is because it is a theology that disturbs Reagan and U.S. imperialism, just as Jesus disturbed the Roman imperialists. One reason is that liberation theology denies the oppressors any religious legitimacy. It gives Christians a critical and revolutionary vision of their own faith. Therefore, Reagan and the /Santa Fe Document/--which the U.S. oppressors wrote as their Latin American policy--say that it must be fought. They fear and hate it as much they do Nicaragua and Libya.

[Question] Nevertheless, the Latin American peoples see a rich church rather than a poor one....

[Answer] The church has many diseases, but it also has antibodies. There is a church of big banks and many see that church as an accomplice of oppression and imperialism. However, the message of the gospels and, basically, the people is stronger that that. We have about 100,000 Ecclesiastic Base Communities in Brazil with 3 million members (all poor people from the urban slums and the countryside). These were started 25 years ago and were strengthened by the fight against the military dictatorship. They are the seeds of many popular movements of struggle for housing, health, water, human rights, and jobs. Many Catholic bishops acknowledged that they became Christians after coming into contact with these base communities. Why that distinction? Because many Catholics feel they are people of the church but do not necessarily take to heart Christ's message. As these bishops say, the communities are "the new way of life of the church." This is a new church that upsets Reagan and the National Security Doctrine, written by the United States so that the Latin America military would feel fear, suspicion, and hatred toward their own peoples and protect U.S. interests, not those of their own nations. In Belo Horizonte, U.S. official Dan Mitrione taught the Brazilian military methods of torture by applying an electric prod to the skin of street beggars used as guinea pigs. Some soldiers and policemen have sought Brazilian priests and bishops in order to confess their torture and crimes because they could no longer live with their conscience. Reagan likes the Moonies because they are explicitly anti-Catholic although I have been told that they finance certain Catholic universities and organizations in Argentina.

[Question] The Holy See has just lifted its "sanction of silence" against Brazilian theologian Leonardo Boff. Why?

[Answer] The Pope was very impressed by the deluge from Christian Base Communities. They sent documents to Rome containing millions of signatures supporting Leonardo. He was also impressed by the favorable press on this priest. This made the Pope see that this problem could no longer be handled as an /internal affair/ of the church. It cannot censure and sanction without paying the price; public opinion was favorable to Boff and unfavorable to the Vatican. Without opening his mouth, Boff said more in this year of silence than ever before. Theology cannot ignore the advances of science and history. No one can accuse those who use mathematics of being Pythagoreans. Why, then, do they accuse us of being Marxists because our liberation theology incorporates concepts revealed to be true by the reality of life, the life of the poor in Latin America?

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GOVERNMENT REPORTEDLY WILLING TO HOLD DIALOGUE WITH COB

La Paz EL DIARIO in Spanish 5 May 86 p 2

[Text] The government is ready for a dialogue with the Bolivian Labor Federation [COB] in order to respond to its demands within a framework of realism, good sense and responsibility, Information Minister Herman Antelo said.

On being apprised that the labor organization is seeking a dialogue with the government, the minister said that the government is willing to talk to the workers but will not enter into a discussion of factors that may revive hyperinflation or anarchy. "The proposals will be considered by the government within a framework of serious discussion," he said.

The Bolivian Labor Federation is holding a meeting today of its executive committee plus the national leaders of individual unions who will be able to present their points of view on the present economic and social situation of the country.

The labor organization meeting has been called after the failure of a national meeting of leaders last week due to the absence of leaders who have so far not explained how that came about.

Although some authorities in the executive power exclude any chance of success for COB in modifying wage increases planned for next June, union leaders insist that wages have to be revised taking into account the cost of a family basket of goods that must be discussed with the executive power.

COB published a single list of demands that will be presented to the government in the next few hours with the intention of seeking a general increase in wages and salaries, taking into account the current cost of living, and also the restoration of labor benefits, meaning some bonuses that used to be paid prior to the previous administration.

Negotiations

Official sources said that any negotiation with COB would be based on real data that are included in the general national budget and the stipulations of

Decree 21060, an anti-inflationary decision seeking the stabilization of our economy, which is considered serious at this time due to the implications of the crisis.

Minister of planning and coordination, Gonzalo Sanchez de Lozada, and the information minister agreed that any modification of wages and salaries necessarily has to correspond with a realistic policy based on government revenues and expenses.

"We have stated that we recognize the workers' merits," declared Herman Antelo, saying they had contributed a great quota of sacrifice after the measures of last August, but despite that opinion he admitted that the government is not in a position to accede to demands that do not fall within realistic figures, so as to avoid a relapse into hyperinflation.

Audience

The labor leader said they will request an audience with the President, Dr Victor Paz Estenssoro, to whom they will deliver a single national list of demands, consisting of 20 points and containing also a "platform for struggle." The date of the labor leaders' audience may be decided today.

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BOLIVIA

COLUMNIST POINTS TO URGENCY OF NEW INVESTMENT LAW

La Paz PRESENCIA in Spanish 18 Apr 86 p 3

[Article by Samuel Mendoza]

[Text] If we really want to get out as soon as possible from the serious economic and social crisis in which we are mired, the most important thing is to promote the reactivation of the nation's productive apparatus. The President has talked about this frequently and so do his ministers. However, this is a time when the instruments to attain this objective remain dormant, either in the executive or the legislature.

A few months ago a mission of OPIC (Overseas Private Investment Corporation) was in La Paz. This is the autonomous agency of the United States government that grants direct loans financed by its own resources on the one hand, while on the other it provides guarantees to American banks for them to grant loans to private investors in foreign countries. The Bolivian government very properly signed an agreement with this organization, aware that it was time to attract investment capital to open up new sources of jobs, and above all to reactivate the economic apparatus.

It is superfluous to repeat that there are many capitalists in the United States who want to invest in Bolivia. We were able to verify this personally in October last year when the New York Bolivian-American Chamber of Commerce invited Bolivian Vice-president Dr. Julio Garrett Aillon to a round table in which we also participated. Unfortunately, since then, and since the signing of the agreement with OPIC, little or nothing has been done to foment the investment of capital in our country.

One of the most important instruments to attract capital is undoubtedly an investment law to lay the groundwork for the opening of new sources of production. The capital is there, but it awaits the regulations governing its investment in Bolivia. Since the investment law passed by the government of General Hugo Banzer has been virtually repealed, it is necessary to write and pass a new, updated law to open the doors as soon as possible to private investment, both Bolivian and foreign.

The Confederation of Bolivian Private Entrepreneurs points out quite rightly that there can be no talk of incentives until the investor's confidence is restored by means of "clear juridical instruments and a firm political will to maintain that juridical order." Consequently, "the task cannot be postponed of having a new investment law that will take into account the new framework set up for the country's economic development, the substantial loosening up that has come about in this area with regard to international commitments made within the framework of subregional integration, and that sets clear and specific standards to strengthen confidence and reduce as much as possible the leeway in its interpretation, within a modern, stable and realistic juridicial context."

It is impossible to deny that the statist policy imposed by previous governments has brought about the flight of Bolivian and foreign capital. Knowing that the investor, whether Bolivian or foreign, seeks a climate where he has some guarantees before he ventures into the productive framework of a country, one has to bring about such a climate so as to give him an opportunity to do so and thus contribute to national development. We must insist that Bolivia is virgin territory because it possesses abundant resources that have not been touched due to a lack of investment capital. If Bolivia doesn't have such capital it is right to attract the capital from abroad, even more so when we know that there is such capital in abundance. Otherwise, as the entrepreneurs quite rightly say, "the risk is run that investment will continue to be a distant promise, a prospect that is even more worrisome in the circumstances we are now facing."

There are many important tasks the executive and legislative powers must carry out if they want to get the country out of this crisis. One of these, which cannot be postponed, is to pass a new investment law as an indispensable tool to reactivate the national productive apparatus and open up new roads toward national development and the people's welfare. It is to be hoped that the government and the legislators will understand this.

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CHILE

PINOCHET: POLITICAL LAWS TO BE IMPLEMENTED IN SECOND PHASE

Santiago QUE PASA in Spanish 24-30 Apr 86 pp 13-20

[Interview with President Augusto Pinochet by the director of QUE PASA, Roberto Pulido; the managing editor, Patricia O'Shea, and the feature editor, Gloria Stanley; at La Moneda Palace; date not given]

[Text] He looked relaxed and in good health. The day began for President Pinochet at 0700 hours at La Moneda Palace with a recorded television program and a meeting with close colleagues. At 0830 he was ready to breakfast with QUE PASA.

Impeccably dressed in his uniform, he joked readily ("Careful with the tape recorders; everything is bugged nowadays...The other day a fellow asked me why I was so anxious about ordering some medicine; it turns out that I had ordered it while I was riding in my car") as he personally assigned places at the breakfast table. For almost an hour and a half he would converse about a wide range of national issues with QUE PASA's director, Roberto Pulido; its managing editor, Patricia O'Shea, and its feature editor, Gloria Stanley. The president had invited the minister secretary general of government, Francisco Javier Cuadra, and Col Guillermo Garin, the commander of the Royal Guard, to the gathering.

In his own personal style (answering his own questions, raising the tone of his voice or banging on the table when some subject annoyed him, standing up abruptly), Gen Augusto Pinochet offered his thoughts on the past 13 years of government: the present (which his opponents see as a period of severe crisis and polarization and which he sees as years of study and enactment of laws); the past (a struggle with an enemy that gives no quarter, Marxism), and the future ("which must lead to a protected democracy in 1989. And it will prevent us from lapsing into communism again").

One can sense that he is more at ease talking about the past. Or about Marxism. Or about the regime's influence. Or when he jokingly refers to the image that his opponents have of him. "I have a sour face; maybe that's why they say that I'm a dictator. My wife says that I always look annoyed when I talk. It's just that I'm made that way." Or when he rejects the soldier's macho image: "A lot of people think that the only thing we soldiers know how to say is 'yes, sir...forward, march...at ease.' I can tell them this: we spend 3 years in school, where we study for second lieutenant, lieutenant and captain; then 3 years at the War Academy; 1 or 2 years of teacher preparation, and finally the Superior Command course. That makes 12 years of studies. And this doesn't count the exams that you take every year before the Qualifying Board. I took 35 of them! Can they say then that "these soldiers are crude"? It so happens that our training is different. We do not make deals. We say yes or no. This is the difference between us and politicians."

He categorically rejects the notion that there is a severe crisis and polarization, the diagnosis of the Chilean bishops in their most recent pastoral letter.

He said that "there has never been a consensus in Chile; that's revising history," and asserts that the government is supported by most of the country and that "it remains to be seen what will happen at the moment of truth (1989) with the people who are doing the criticizing now."

As the 1 1/2 hour conversation drew to a close, the issues that we wanted to bring up had not been discussed. "You have enough at this point to fill several pages," the president said, smiling.

A Look Back...To Plan for the Future

An enthusiastic student of history, President Pinochet says that one can never plan for the future without looking back first at the past, especially when analyzing a nation.

We cannot understand Chile in 1973, he says, unless we examine two prior historical dates: 1925 and 1891. "It was in that bloody, prolonged civil war in which so many were killed, with the navy supporting the Portales constitution of 1833 and the army backing President Balmaceda, that the country buried the presidential system of the 1933 Constitution and gave birth to what I call 'parliamentary power.' A Congress made up of the best families in Chile, the aristocracy, which initially lifted it up and then debased it." General Pinochet says that as a result of this parliamentary period serious social problems arose from the depopulation of the countryside and the exodus into the cities: overcrowding, housing shortages, disease and the breakup of families.

"I emphasize these events because they would have repercussions later in Chile and explode in 1973. Instead of investing the wealth they obtained from nitrate, these lawmakers took the first boat to France to squander their fortunes (it's all accurately told in several novels, such as 'The Transplanted'). They thus made possible the later emergence of the populist parties. The Communist Party was born in 1921 precisely in the nitrate fields because no one cared about raising the standard of living of the people working there..."

The president expounds on the lessons of history.

"At the close of this parliamentary period we come to 1924, when the Armed Forces again stepped in, this time the navy and army, and handed over the 1925

Constitution to the country and to President Alessandri. That constitution, which reestablished a presidential system of government, suffered from a series of problems, however. The main one: it did not set ground rules for the political parties, or explain to them what their province was or tell them how far they could go. They thus gradually became stronger than the Legislature and the Executive branch. It was those parties that held power under various governments...No one knew where the money was, how they were really operating and who they consisted of."

The upshot, President Pinochet told QUE PASA, is the development of parties like the Communist Party, which "was going to set up a new colony of Russian imperialism in 1970 in Chile. Like Cuba, we were going to be vassals of the Russian lord."

He then adds emphatically: "This is what prompted the Armed Forces to rise up. It was to save the country...Or do you think that it wouldn't be easier for us to look at the problem from afar instead of fighting in the trenches today and being the target of slander, which is at times the case? In my case, for example, I found my mother, may she rest in peace, weeping a few days before she died because of slander that some rag published."

With a stern gesture the president picked up the thread of his previous remarks. "We were talking about the military uprising. You will probably tell me: 'But in 1973 the members of the Junta signed a document indicating that they would stay on until the political situation returned to normal.'"

[QUE PASA] The famous Proclamation No 5...

Before coming out with an answer, the president made one of those surprise moves with which he regularly disconcerts the people with whom he is talking, saying: "Let's stop here. It's time for tea, isn't it?"

After a brief pause, he resumed our talk with a curt "Let's begin."

[Question] Mr President, you were mentioning Proclamation No 5, which says that the Junta will remain as long as necessary until things return to normal. What changed afterwards?

[Answer] General Mendoza, General Leigh, Admiral Merino and I signed a document that said that. But don't forget that that was when the movement had just concluded. When we started taking a look at things and analyzing the problems (the courts, the comptroller's office, Congress, the institutions), we reached the conclusion that the problem was much, much more deep-rooted than we had imagined.

We realized that we had to draft a new constitution, because the 1925 Constitution had been unable to stem the action of Marxism-Leninism. The comptrollership had been overridden by the decrees of insistence. And Congress, well everyone knows what it was like. The rulings of the courts were not being obeyed. There were problems everywhere. The political parties did whatever they wanted, ran the country by brute force and were accountable to no one. Were the Christian Democrats who worked out the Statute of

Guarantees with the communists accountable to anyone? It was thus necessary to pass a law that would enable us to establish responsibilities. [end of answer]

A Dictatorship?

The objectives of the military uprising and of the action that the Armed Forces and the forces of law and order had to take in 1973 are being blurred by certain sectors, the president asserts. As far as the chief of state is concerned, the people most to blame are the Marxists, "who are very skillful with semantics." They switch words around. "Enemies are adversaries. The other day it said in the papers: 'Carabinero executed.' Executed? Pursuant to what sentence? He was murdered! But they succeeded in using another word, because 'murdered' has less of an impact than 'executed.' It is these sectors, along with other political ones, that have lost their previous dominance, that no longer receive the funds they used to and have become anonymous; these are the people who are saying: 'Democracy now.' There really is a choice here: 'Communism or democracy,' not 'dictatorship or democracy,' as they are saying."

"I'm told that we have very strict laws...Yes, but we're a democracy. There is an Executive Branch, and it's independent. The Legislature is over there (motioning with his hand), and it's not true that it's just four people...Many people are involved, if you count the commissions. And the Judiciary is completely independent, and we made it a special point to accord it the status it deserves. No one can dispute this; it has been acknowledged by the chief justice of the Supreme Court himself. So, is this a dictatorship? We ourselves marked off the field and said that we were going to draft a constitution, which we began looking into in October 1973...We set a national goal for ourselves at the outset of the government, we set the policies, the parameters, the working programs of the ministries, we approved the Constitutional Papers. Do you think that a dictatorial government is going to give up its power for love of art?

"We were the ones who created a framework so as not to end up in a dictatorship! Here, for example, the comptrollership can send back decrees to this 'dictatorial' government. This government has never questioned court rulings; it enforces them strictly.

"Didn't we propose a constitution that was approved in 1980 by the country because we wanted the full-fledged rule of law to prevail? Oh, but it has those temporary articles, you say! I ask you: Can we rush into it just like that or is it better to prepare? You have to study, delve deeply, analyze, reflect on and, if possible and time permitting, even take a look at a fictitious situation and work with it under the law to see how it performs..The laws are being drafted. Among others, we have approved the Constitutional Tribunal Law. And now, before the Political Parties Law, we will have the Voter Registration Law to register people as they ought to be."

The Second Stage of the Regime

[Question] Mr President, there are 3 years left before the constitution takes full effect, and more than 3 years have passed since it was approved. Constitutionalists assert that a country that is not enforcing its legislation is not institutionalized. Given that laws and institutions take time to function, don't you think that these laws should be implemented sooner?

[Answer] You have to look at the problem this way. The program that was worked out in 1980 has several phases. The present stage is for the drafting of the laws. Comprehensive implementation comes during the second stage.

[Question] You mentioned that the government had taken steps to limit its own power...

[Answer] Yes, but even so they talk about "Pinochet the dictator." And "Pinochet the dictator" sends decrees, for example, to the comptrollership, which tells him: "They are not acceptable." Shouldn't the comptrollership close its eyes and sign for the "dictator"? Is that really being a dictator?

[Question] But the transition is a process or a period...

[Answer] A period for implementing the 1980 Constitution, a period for completing the modernizations. Because a great many things have been done here. This really is a different country than in 1973!

[Question] But this period...

[Answer] Is a period of adjustment...

[Question] Or of rapprochement. The interior minister spoke on 11 March of rebuilding the 1973 consensus...

[Answer] Yes, in the sense of a "majority." Look, I'll tell you something about consensus...So many people use the word! Consensus...the magic word. History tells us the following: There has never been a complete consensus! Shortly after Pedro de Valdivia arrived in Chile, he had to hang Pedro Sanchez de la Hoz, because he rebelled...The Dominicans fought with the Mercedarians..The Jesuits with the Dominicans...the Larrains with the Errazuriz...When has there been a consensus? People have been fighting since independence: O'Higgins with Carrera...All you have to do is read history.

[Question] But there was a consensus in 1973...

[Answer] But it was a consensus because the great majority of Chileans were suffering. They were losing their freedom. It was a great majority. That is the meaning of the word.

[Question] And do you think that you have a majority behind you now?

[Answer] Do I have a majority? The government has broad civic support.

[Question] What polls are you referring to? Because the ones published in the papers say otherwise...

[Answer] Ah well, it depends on how the question is posed! If you ask me: Which do you prefer? Dictatorship or democracy? I'll say democracy right away. But my question to you is: Democracy or communism? What answer would you give me? Now then, there are a great many people who are against the government because of all the jabbering going on. But let's see what happens when the time to decide rolls around.

[Question] But there are several years left to pass laws before 1989. What is the strategy for such legislation?

[Answer] Can I tell you a secret? (he says, laughing). When you pursue a strategy, you tell no one; you just pursue it...The laws have to be out before 11 September 1988...

Political Parties

[Question] You have indicated that the purpose of dissolving the political parties was to create a legal framework for them to prevent them from becoming polarized, as they did in the past. With the political opening in 1983 the political parties began operating "de facto." Don't you think that if you do not give them a proper legal framework soon, the parties will wind up making the same mistakes that led to their suspension?

[Answer] You are the ones who have given the political parties life! Pardon me for saying so (he says sarcastically). Newsmen have given them life; it has not been the government. As far as I'm concerned, these are "political groups." But the press likes to fan the flames and calls them political parties.

[Question] But how does the government want the political parties to operate in the future?

[Answer] As currents of opinion that can bring people together and say to them: "Look, gentlemen, I have this program and we're going to implement it like this." For example, this government promised housing, and we're now almost at 800,000 units...We promised telephones and we've almost reached our goal. Nothing has been left up in the air. The currents of opinion have to do the same. They should say: "We will respect private property and individual freedom." They will thus be acting responsibly.

[Question] You said that there has never been a consensus in Chile, only majorities and minorities. Couldn't the government try to channel these majorities and minorities towards a common goal? Couldn't some thought be given to negotiations? Who in your mind would be valid participants?

[Answer] The people...

[Question] And who are the people?

[Answer] The sovereign people, as the constitution and the laws so define.

Future Democracy

President Pinochet tackled the issue of the future democracy enthusiastically:

[Pinochet] The democracy that we want for the country will be protected and have authority. Otherwise, it will become corrupted one day...Because Marxism is made for the infiltration and destruction of democracy.

[Question] But your concept of democracy is different from the one in traditional democracies. The United States, for example.

[Answer] Of course it's different, because the cure depends on the illness. For example, if you have typhus, you don't take penicillin. The Americans never went through what we did. They have how many? Three percent communists? Almost nothing! But we have 20 or so percent who allow themselves to be influenced by the communists. That is the difference. Here it does no good to give the patient penicillin. We have to take a different approach. If you have a gangrened arm or hand, it has to be amputated, doesn't it?

Now then, if you say to me: "Democracy must be pluralist," I say: "Agreed. But the Marxists have to tell me likewise and do likewise." You have to understand the Marxists; they're different. Imagine that I have here in my hand a bar with everything from philosophy to Gorbachev. But they don't show all of it. They show only a part. And they adapt to circumstances for the rest.

This is why they're talking about detente again now. Because action would have to be taken in Chile. In a year or 2 the country is going to be worse off than on 10 September 1973.

[Question] Will the country never be rid of the menace of Marxism?

[Answer] Read "The Decisive Day." In it I say: "The only way to deliver ourselves from Marxism is by preparing our young people and telling them clearly what Marxism is." I say this on page 63. I'm not saying anything new.

Do you think that Andre Gide and the others who became disillusioned didn't realize what Marxism was, what the dictatorship of the proletariat was? The judicial mechanisms so that Marxism does not arise in Chile are in the constitution, and therefore it has to be implemented fully.

From Crisis to Recovery

[Question] The government's economic policy during this period has been to emphasize economic freedom. What is the bottom line on the past 13 years of economic policy?

[Answer] When we took over the government in 1973, there was only enough flour for the next few hours. The till was empty; checks were being returned for insufficient funds; there was total collapse. There were lines for buying cooking oil, flour, fuel, bread and meat. There was disguised unemployment because companies that could take on 100 workers had payrolls of 1,000. Government agencies were bloated. So, the 2nd year we got together in Vina del Mar and agreed on a policy that some call a "shock" treatment, an emergency or adjustment policy to relieve this situation. The question that can be asked now is: Was that policy good or bad? I think that in the final accounting the policy was good. It must be remembered that we had to tackle certain aggravating circumstances. We left the Club of Paris. When we went there to negotiate, they said something like this to us: "Gentlemen, when are you going to return to democracy?" That proved that they were completely in the dark about Chile's situation. So, I told Minister Cauas: "No more negotiations. The negotiation with the Club of Paris is over. We're not going to get down on our knees." And then, of course, came the oil crisis and later the copper crisis. And finally the international banks invaded us with their dollars. The problem is that while some of the people who received that money were honest, there were others who were not that honest or honest in their own way. And we didn't exercise the sort of control we should have. That was the mistake. The economic policy we selected was good, but there were not enough signposts. We have now gotten over the crisis, which beset everyone, not just us. I'm not saying that we're doing wonderful, but we are recovering. The future? I'm not a Cassandra; I can't predict it, but our pragmatic economic policy and its serious and responsible management are yielding results. There is growth. That is a fact.

[Question] But we are still dependent on foreign loans, which have political strings attached. How can the government act with political independence when in one way or another it is linked to international credit?

[Answer] There is no such link. The government feels that our creditors are going to respect our position. It is in their interest to give us credit facilities. Moreover, Chile has fulfilled all of its commitments since 1973.

The Volio Report

[Question] Mr President, what is your opinion of the Volio Report and the resolution of the UN Human Rights Commission?

[Answer] I was always very skeptical about Mr Volio's visit, considering previous experiences. Nevertheless, it was authorized because we have nothing to hide. His report does not reflect the actual human rights situation in Chile. In general, his sources of information are politically biased, and thus he could not be objective.

[Question] Don't you think that mistakes may have been made in the area of human rights during this period?

[Answer] You have it great in this country today...You can take your kids to school without incident, walk the streets, not have to stand on line to buy bread or meat...Your mind is at ease. In 1973, in contrast, there were about

30,000 weapons in the country, distributed around Santiago. Or do you think that the people who fought, who took part in that attempted communist revolution were going to remain quiet? We didn't run across any saints on 11 September. We have found documents from the extremists that convincingly show that, for example, a son-in-law was supposed to kill his father-in-law.

[Question] You are touching on the issue of national security. What are the limits of that policy?

[Answer] The defense of the nation. If you're going to plant bombs, I have to defend myself...

[Question] Bishop Camus said some time ago that the ethics of the national security policy are not the same as Christian ethics...

[Answer] I've been familiar with Bishop Camus' ideas since he was very young, over there in Valparaiso. I greatly regret that he said that because I respect him and pray a great deal for him.

[Question] It has been said that power is very lonely, that a leader is ultimately alone in exercising his authority. How have these 13 years in government been for you?

[Answer] Do you want me to tell you? I've never thought about it. Look, an officer starts preparing for the loneliness of command from the time that he is very young. I was educated from childhood to confront this kind of loneliness. I'm trained for it. What can I do about it?

[Question] But do you trust or mistrust people? Do you prefer to follow your intuition?

[Answer] I trust no one (he says, laughing roguishly).

[Question] And what about the civilian population? Do you see any heirs to your regime?

[Answer] The ones who in one way or another have worked alongside us.

We members of the Armed Forces and the forces of law and order are going to return to our barracks with peace of mind. Of course we are never going to accept a situation like in 1973. If it had not been for God's help, the uprising that enabled us to take care of our problems would not have occurred...I don't know what we would have done...I don't know what would have happened to us as a nation.

8743
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REPORTAGE ON CIVIC ASSEMBLY ACTION ON 'CHILE DEMANDS' DOCUMENT

Main Grievances Listed

Santiago ANALISIS in Spanish 29 Apr-5 May 86 pp 10-11

[Text] While the country plodded along amid the irate speeches of the commander in chief, while people were being arrested and shot in counterdemonstrations as he toured the southern part of the country, and while in colleges students and professors waged a resolute battle demanding an end to the intervention, the Civic Assembly was officially constituted in Santiago on Saturday the 26th.

Representatives from 250 social organizations with close to 3 million members and a hundred or so guests with observer status were all set to take part in a gathering whose purpose was the signing of the so-called "Chile Demands" document. As this issue went to press, the organizers were still waiting for official permission from the military authority in the Metropolitan Region to stage the event at Carlos Cariola Theater starting at 0900 hours. Nevertheless, ANALISIS was told, the organizers had provided for at least six alternate sites for the ceremony, including some outside Santiago. Noon had come and gone on Friday the 25th, and one could still see members of the Organizing Committee nervously arriving and leaving as they finalized details while reporters looked increasingly forward to seeing the contents of the document, which was said to embody the aspirations of the great majority of civilians.

The drafting of the document had been completed on Thursday the 24th, and it bore the signature of representatives from the 18 organizations that make up the Council of the Civic Assembly: the Federation of Professional Associations; the Coordinating Committee of Professors Associations; the National Command of Workers; the Democratic Central Organization of Workers; the Council of Students Federations; the Chilean Educators Association (AGECH); the Confederation of Retail Trade; Women for Life; the General Confederation of Cooperatives; the National Peasant Commission; the Human Rights Commission; AD [Democratic Alliance]-MAPU [United Popular Action Movement]; the Group of Constitutional Studies; the National Union of Pensioners; the Federation of Truck Owners; the Coordinator of Shantytown Residents, and the Coordinator of Craft Unions.

Steps Towards Unification

The Civic Assembly was founded just a month after the Federation of Professional Associations issued its call on 25 March during a ceremony at Cariola Theater. The council was formed a few weeks later, and work got under way on drafting the joint "demand" on the basis of the documents that were submitted by the 18 nationwide organizations that took up the initiative. These organizations, in turn, comprise some 250 rank and file groups. This was the origin of "Chile Demands," a 12-page foolscap paper document that was to be submitted to the assembly for ratification as a proposal from the council.

"Chile Demands" comprises a wide range of sector and general grievances (see box) based on a common aspiration: democracy for Chile. "We have come to the conclusion that this government is incapable of fulfilling our most basic grievances and our most urgent demands," the document says, adding: "Therefore, our main grievance as the Civic Assembly is the restoration of national sovereignty to establish democracy." The point is made again later: "We demand democracy because we aspire to a form of free coexistence that is based on the will of the people and on the right of Chile to self-determination...We are convinced that to surmount the national crisis and prevent a fratricidal confrontation, we need a government that enjoys broad popular support and solid democratic representation. The present government lacks civilian backing, and its legitimacy is questioned by the citizenry."

"Chile Demands" begins by setting forth the problems that are besetting Chilean society and that have plunged it into a deep economic, social, political and moral crisis. It speaks out against the regime's obvious inability to overcome the serious situation facing the country and proposes specific measures for ending the crisis. As it has been drafted, "Chile Demands" represents a challenge to the Pinochet government, because if no real response is forthcoming in 1 month's time, the signatory organizations are prepared to chart a joint course to achieve their common goal: the advent of democracy.

In the event that the regime fails to respond, there is talk of the need for a nationwide work stoppage, as was proposed by the president of the Federation of Professional Associations, Dr Juan Luis Gonzalez, at the time the call for the assembly went out. The National Command of Workers, one of the participants in the council meeting, has already agreed to call for a work stoppage during the first half of the year and was to propose as much to the assembly.

Yet to be decided is the substance of the final demand. Some of the options being bandied about were: demand Pinochet's resignation; call for a plebiscite to decide Chile's constitutional destiny, or call for general elections of a president and a National Congress with constituent powers.

"Chile Demands"

The following are some of the main grievances that civilians are voicing to the military regime:

--Establishment of a food allowance for extremely poor homes and a cancellation of debts on basic consumer services such as water and electricity.

--Creation of a massive program for the construction of low-cost housing.

--Repeal of the new Health Care Law and a significant increase in funding for the health care sector.

--Elimination of all forms of job insecurity by means of guarantees to regulate employment stability.

--Correction of the arbitrary facets of the current social security system.

--A final, equitable and comprehensive solution to the indebtedness problem of the productive business sectors, carriers, mortgagors, SERVIU and ANAP.

--Implementation of a vast employment program aimed at creating productive, stable and fairly paid jobs.

--Equality before the law and in employment for women, who have traditionally been held back.

--Recognition of and respect for social organizations.

--Recovery of the public corporation status of professional associations.

--Repeal of the Labor Plan and reinstatement of the Labor Court.

--Reinstatement of Law 16,625 on peasant farmer unionization.

--An end to the appointment of neighborhood leaders, and the election of Neighborhood Boards and other community organizations by the workers.

--Recognition of all the democratically elected student federations and respect for their right to participate in the universities' professional associations.

--Creation of the Higher Council of Land Transport with the participation of the public and private sectors.

--An end to the privatization and municipalization of education.

--Restoration of full autonomy for universities.

--Reestablishment of freedom of expression and of the press; an end to all types of censorship.

--Reparations for the victims of torture and for the family members of persons who were killed, executed or arrested and still missing, and for exiles, who have been deprived of their right to live in their homeland.

--Repeal of temporary Article 24 of the constitution and an end to all states of emergency.

--An overhaul of the Judiciary to guarantee an effective defense of civil rights.

--Dissolution of the National Information Center and real protection for the security of every Chilean.

--Release of the Chileans being held for political reasons.

--Enforcement of the measures proposed by the National Accord in connection with human rights.

--Abolition of the ill-termed "national security doctrine."

--A comprehensive rescheduling of foreign debt servicing.

"In order for our homeland to regain its devotion to freedom and self-determination,"

--All agencies and branches of government must exercise their powers within the strict framework of a democratically legitimized constitution.

--There must be an effective separation of powers so that they can check and balance each other in accordance with the law.

--The Judiciary must be composed of independent courts...and not be interfered with by the other branches.

--A new set of institutions must redefine the legal framework of the Armed Forces and the Carabineros, so that it expressly provides for their observance of a democratically legitimized constitution, their subordination to elected authorities, their incorporation into national development tasks and their mission of safeguarding the country's integrity.

Assembly Approves Text

Santiago CAUCE in Spanish 5-11 May 86 (Insert)

[Text] The council of the National Civic Assembly, made up of the legitimate representatives of the 18 most important social organizations in Chile, unanimously approved the following text of the document called "Chile Demands."

There are times in the life of a country when a serious crisis affords it a unique opportunity to regain its bearings and to emerge strengthened as a nation.

When a people weighed down by years of exclusion and neglect decides to take its destiny into its own hands to restore all of its trampled rights, it is exercising the most elementary right to life, as individuals, as a nation and as a culture.

Chile today is in the midst of a deep political, economic, social and moral crisis. The government closes its doors to accord and dialogue and responds by intensifying the repression. It offers no solution to the distressing problems that accumulate day after day. A huge foreign debt weighs us down. Close to a third of the population is condemned to joblessness and hunger. Domestic indebtedness has stolen years of hard work from individuals and companies, making the situation untenable for production sectors, businessmen, carriers and mortgage holders. The housing shortage is close to one million units. Our systems of health care and education, which were a source of national pride and an example to the rest of Latin America, are falling apart and being dismantled. Labor legislation seeks only to atomize and restrict the legitimate expression of worker grievances. It would take too long to list all of the serious problems besetting us. But the government clings to an economic model and a political agenda that leads only to the perpetuation of General Pinochet in power by recourse to violence.

The overwhelming majority of Chileans realize the gravity of the problem and how this situation has brought about a mounting disintegration and polarization of society. Insecurity and uncertainty are signs of the same problem.

If this situation continues, it is easy to foresee a growing confrontation in which the Armed Forces would be irreversibly committed to repression of such magnitude that it would divorce them once and for all from the people, thus jeopardizing their own institutional status.

In this tragic hour it is our responsibility as patriots and democrats to salvage the constitutionalist tradition of the Armed Forces and their subordination to a civilian government born of the people.

It is thus a hopeful sign that various social sectors and organizations are uniting to seek and propose a solution that will prevent Chile from disintegrating as a nation. We think that it is possible today; tomorrow it may be too late.

It is a difficult road, but not an impossible one if we are able to travel it together, involved and united.

In the face of the tragic situation in which our homeland finds itself, together we want to perform an act of confidence.

Confidence in this country's most valuable asset, which is none other than the intelligence, talent and strength of its people. But under the current circumstances this is not enough unless it is accompanied by involvement and solidarity. In the face of the exclusion of the masses and of the intermediate bodies on the national, regional and community level, we are calling for involvement and solidarity so that united we can put forth the great national effort that will enable us to overcome the current crisis.

Each of our organizations has struggled separately for a long time to have our demands met, but no real answers have been forthcoming. The time has come for us to unite our grievances and our struggles, thus creating permanent bonds of solidarity and mutual support.

We invite all inhabitants of the country to rally in support of the proposals of the Civic Assembly so that we can thus together begin rebuilding Chile in democracy and freedom.

We have come to the conclusion that this government is incapable of fulfilling our most basic grievances and our most urgent demands.

Therefore, our main grievance, as the Civic Assembly, is the restoration of the people's sovereignty to practice democracy.

Only under a democracy is it possible to begin rebuilding the country in an involved, responsible and united manner.

Only under a democracy are governments obliged to respond to the problems and aspirations of their peoples.

Only under a democracy will we be able to make the changes that will insure respect for human dignity and a civilized coexistence.

Only under a democracy will we be able to fulfill the most urgent demands of the various sectors.

At the same time that we struggle for democracy, we will continue to apply pressure and to mobilize permanently for answers to the problems plaguing us.

Therefore:

I. We Demand Democracy to Guarantee a Decent Life for All Chileans

Chile's future as a community that can meet the challenges facing it is predicated on assuring all its inhabitants the right to a decent existence. To this end it is necessary:

1. To eliminate the living wage and to replace it with an adjustable minimum income that will insure that families can afford the shopping basket of basic items.

2. To establish a food allowance for extremely poor homes and forgive debts on basic services such as water and electricity.

3. To establish a massive low-cost housing construction program to gradually diminish the country's tragic housing shortfall.

4. To repeal the new health care law and to significantly increase government funding for the health care sector so as to improve hospital infrastructure and the quality of care, which are in particularly bad condition today.

5. To eliminate all forms of job insecurity through guarantees of stable employment.

6. To correct the arbitrary aspects of the current social security system by establishing a single scale of steps, wages, pensions and annuities that is applicable to all civil servants, whether they are civilian or military, and, if possible, to workers in the private sector.

7. To secure for those involved in temporary government unemployed-worker programs the same rights that labor and social security legislation provides for workers in the production sector: employment contracts, minimum wage, withholding and family allowance, union organization and collective bargaining, etc.

8. To develop a definitive, equitable and comprehensive solution to the problem of indebtedness in the productive sectors of business, carriers and mortgage holders, SERVIU and ANAP.

II. We Demand Democracy to Put an End to Exclusions

We want democracy to lessen the huge inequalities between a wealthy, powerful minority and a poor, excluded majority, to guarantee the participation of all in the country's life and to end the exclusion of the majority, which is jeopardizing the integrity and unity of our nation.

To this end, it is necessary:

1. To implement a vast employment program aimed at creating productive, stable and well-paid jobs. This program must be developed with input from the government, the private sector and unions. Expanded public works projects, subsidies and business tax incentives to create new jobs are some of the instruments that ought to be used for this purpose.

2. To establish equality before the law and in employment for women, who have traditionally been held back.

3. To recognize and respect the social organizations in the performance of their functions, in the defense of their members and in the exercise of the right to petition and demand.

4. To restore the public corporation status of professional associations and their powers to monitor professional ethics, to set fees and to have input in the formulation of sector policies.

5. To recognize the rights of the workers and the autonomy of their organizations, to which end it is necessary to repeal the Labor Plan and to reinstate the Labor Court, negotiations by production branch, the tripartite commissions and the wage schedules by production branch. Agreements No 87, 98, 137 and 151 with the ILO must also be ratified.

6. To reinstate Law 16,625 on peasant farmer unionization; to extend the right to organize and negotiate to all peasant farmers, including part-time workers; to grant technical and financial assistance to small and medium-sized farmers.

7. To encourage the full incorporation of religious, cultural or ethnic minorities, the Mapuche people in particular, into the national democracy; to immediately repeal Decree-Laws 2,568 and 2,750, which divide and subdivide the Mapuche communities.

8. To end the appointment of neighborhood leaders and to let local residents elect Neighborhood Boards and other community organizations, by fully reinstating Law 16,880 on Neighborhood Boards and Community Organizations.

9. To recognize all democratically elected student federations and to respect their right to participate in professional associations at universities.

10. To repeal all of the provisions that transfer to taxpayers obligations and duties that are the exclusive responsibility of the State, in particular, those connected with Form 29, invoices and customs clearance documents.

11. To immediately repeal the recent law that imposes a specific tax on fuels.

12. To establish a Higher Council of Land Transport, made up of the public and private sectors, to draft guidelines for sector policy.

13. To promote and support, with technical and financial assistance, the development of a social economy sector consisting of cooperatives, self-managed enterprises and other forms of participatory and low-income-earner enterprises.

III. We Demand Democracy for the Development of a Pluralist System of Education and Culture

Culture and education, in all their dimensions, are the foundation on which the nation is built. Ideological sectarianism and the commercialization of schooling, the arts and the mass media currently represent grave threats to the country's future. Therefore, it is essential:

1. To end the trend towards the privatization and municipalization of education because it has led to the disintegration of the school system, with serious harm to students, teachers and, ultimately, the country as a whole.

2. To give the universities back their full autonomy, thus putting an end to the system of the rectors delegate.

3. To increase government funding for education to insure improved basic, intermediate and professional-technical schooling; to modify the university financing system by making it compatible with the objectives of institutes of higher learning and with democratized access to them, especially by expanding government loans.

4. To guarantee pluralism throughout the school system by banning all forms of exclusion because of philosophical, religious or ideological convictions.

5. To develop, with input from the organizations that represent workers in the field of culture, a policy to safeguard the country's artistic and cultural heritage and to look after artistic creativity and progress.

6. To reestablish freedom of the press and to abolish all forms of censorship of the mass media.

7. To modify the status of television channels so that programming of a higher cultural level is assured and the views of all the main schools of thought in the country are aired in an undistorted manner. In particular, Channel 13 ought to broadcast the bishops' repeated calls for national reconciliation as the country prepares to welcome John Paul II.

IV. We Demand Democracy to Redress the Most Flagrant Injustices

Reconciliation among Chileans will not be a reality unless the victims of the greatest injustices receive redress. Therefore, it is essential to take steps to provide redress especially to:

1. The victims of torture and the families of individuals who were killed, executed or arrested and are still missing.

2. The individuals who have been dismissed from their jobs or expelled from their places of study because of their democratic convictions.

3. The youths and other individuals who, owing to the lack of work or opportunities for study, have fallen prey to prostitution, crime and drug addiction.

4. The retirees whose pensions and other social security benefits have been denied them.

5. Exiles, who have been deprived of their right to live in their homeland.

V. We Demand Democracy to Insure Respect for Human Rights

Complete respect for human rights demands the following immediate measures:

1. Repeal of temporary Article 24 of the Political Constitution and an end to all states of emergency and to all violent methods of maintaining law and order.

2. Overhaul of the Judiciary to guarantee an effective defense of civil rights; an end to the system of "Establishment" lawyers and effective enforcement of the civil rights injunction [recurso de amparo] and of the rights to due process and to a defense.

3. Dissolution of the CNI [National Information Center] and real protection for the security of each Chilean.

4. Release of the Chileans detained for political reasons.

5. Implementation of the measures proposed in the National Accord in connection with human rights.

6. Official promulgation and publication of the International Pact on Human and Political Rights passed by the United Nations.

7. Ratification of the UN convention on the elimination of all discrimination against women, passed in 1979.

VI. We Demand Democracy to Reestablish National Independence

Our homeland needs to reestablish its national independence, overcome the international isolation that we are suffering from owing to human rights violations, reverse the denationalization of our economy and reconcile the Armed Forces with the civilian population.

To this end:

1. All of the recommendations approved during these years by various UN agencies must be implemented.

2. The so-called "national security doctrine" must be abolished, because it has disturbed our normal forms of social coexistence. We must also develop a doctrine for the military institutions that emphasizes their foreign defense function and their respect for the people's sovereignty.

3. Chile must return to a policy of coordinating with the countries of Latin America and the Third World so that together we can tackle the problems of foreign indebtedness, the defense of our raw materials' prices and the establishment of a new international economic order.

4. The servicing of the foreign debt must be thoroughly rescheduled, so that export earnings and foreign exchange are earmarked mainly for solutions to domestic problems.

VII. We Demand Democracy to Reestablish the Rule of Law

The people's sovereignty must be reestablished without restrictions in Chile, to serve as the foundation for the rule of law, as enshrined in new democratic institutions, so that our homeland can regain its devotion to freedom and self-determination.

No consideration can postpone the right of all Chileans to elect our government officials in periodic elections based on a free, equal, informed and secret ballot, thus assuring changes in government.

To this end:

1. All agencies and branches of government must exercise their powers within the strict framework of a democratically legitimized constitution.

2. There must be an effective separation of powers so that they can check and balance each other in accordance with the law, without any one having control over another.

3. The Judiciary must be composed of independent courts that have an obligation to safeguard and protect the rights of individuals and that can act without the interference of the other branches, with full authority to hear and decide all cases without exemptions, extraterritoriality or prohibition from trying any matter.

4. Laws must represent the will of the people, be approved by elected representatives and be publicized in such a way that all segments of society can enhance them by voicing their opinions.

5. The law must be enforced equally on authorities and private citizens.

6. A new set of institutions must redefine the legal framework of the Armed Forces and the Carabineros so that it expressly provides for their observance of a democratically legitimized constitution, their subordination to elected authorities, their incorporation into national development tasks and their purpose of safeguarding the country's integrity.

We have made an effort to interpret the main demands of the civilian population.

We realize that the implementation of the socioeconomic measures entails a high cost.

We also know that the country's resources are limited. Nevertheless, this assembly represents the formation of a broad national consensus for starting down the path of national reconstruction and making headway as a country. We realize that in a democracy that can assure the involvement of all, citizens are willing to make great efforts and sacrifices.

Current social and economic priorities must be reordered, with emphasis on solving our most urgent problems.

To this end, we need a policy to reallocate resources and rechannel spending; this entails the following steps, among others:

—A comprehensive rescheduling of the country's foreign debt to stop the new transfer of funds overseas and also to provide a final solution to the distressing problem besetting debt-ridden Chilean producers and mortgage holders.

—Reform of the tax system to insure equity, higher revenues and a redistribution of spending.

—Putting an end to government transfers to the financial sector that are sources of profiteering and that strengthen the large economic groups that contribute nothing to the country's development.

—Reduction of defense and domestic security spending as a percentage of the gross domestic product to its level before the conflict with Argentina, in other words, to its 1977 level.

—Use of foreign exchange savings from the fall in world oil prices and interest rates to reactivate the domestic economy and to create jobs, instead of transferring it to foreign creditor banks.

Nevertheless, Chile's fundamental problems are not just economic. The demands posed here reflect the importance that our organizations attach to the full exercise of human rights and to the reestablishment of a state of law and of national independence and sovereignty.

Therefore, just as at other critical times in our history when the consensus of the majority has enabled us to prevail, we are today determined to set aside our legitimate differences for the sake of great national goals.

Accordingly, this assembly solemnly resolves:

To demand democracy, because we aspire to a form of coexistence in freedom that is based on the will of the people and on Chile's right to self-determination.

We are convinced that to surmount the national crisis and prevent a fratricidal confrontation, we need a government that enjoys broad popular support and solid democratic representation. The current government lacks civilian backing, and its legitimacy is questioned by the citizenry.

Therefore, the only alternative is to turn to the people so that they can decide the nation's future.

This is our demand. These are our demands. They represent the hopes of Chile. They constitute the organized decision of Chilean civilians, expressed with the same determination as the patriots showed at the historic 1810 assembly.

8743
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CHILE

NATIONAL ACCORD TO APPROVE CONSTITUTIONAL REFORM PROPOSAL

Santiago CAUCE in Spanish 28 Apr-4 May 86 pp 24-26

[Article by Juan Jorge Faundes: "Minimal Reform to Constitution"]

[Text] During General Pinochet's recent tour through the Temuco zone, there were mass counterdemonstrations which were violently repressed. Army troops even fired automatic weapons while the dictator spoke. Gen Pinochet announced that the 1980 Constitution will not be amended. Pinochet argued in his usual style--discrediting his opponents with adjectives not used in any coherent, rational language--that his opponents use "lies and demagoguery to confuse the people." "They speak of dictatorship or democracy and, in that way, cleverly hide their aggression and their totalitarian ideas." That is why the 1980 Constitution "terrifies" (sic) them. Most of his speech concerned the opponents' real motive for demanding amendments to the Constitution: their fear of no longer "receiving money from abroad."

Continuing with his "reasoning," Gen Pinochet said: "What happens is that these politicians--I won't use an ugly word like politicos (he did)--with notable exceptions, only serve the past system of political parties." As a finishing touch, he stated: "How can they revise, how can they change something that has not been fully applied?"

To give an example of the "aggression" and "totalitarian ideas" of the Chilean opposition, we are offering our readers a scoop. The Proposal of Minimal Reform to the Constitution was drawn up by an editorial committee. It will be approved soon by the members of the National Accord for Transition to Complete Democracy. Reading it will clearly show where the aggression and totalitarianism lie and where the real democrats are. Do they lie in the Constitution that suggests that a single candidate appointed by the commanders in chief of the Armed Forces and forces of order be ratified by plebiscite in 1989, or in this proposed reform which suggests convoking general elections for president of the republic and congressmen? These elections would be free, secret, and informed in the purest Western style.

As to financing political parties from abroad--which greatly concerns Gen Pinochet and is /one of the main bases of his argument/ [in boldface]--there is no proposal to change even one comma of the existing law.

The "politicos" who drew up this proposed minimal reform to the 1980 Constitution are as pro-Communist as the MUN [National Unity Movement], the PN [National Party], the DR [Democratic Right], the PDC [Christian Democratic Party], the PSD [Social Democratic Party], and the PS [Socialist Party] of Carlos Briones. The members of the editorial committee were Carlos Reymond (MUN), Tomas Puig (PN), Hector Correa (DR), Francisco Cumplido (PDC), German Urzua (PSD), and Carlos Andrade (PS).

What is the purpose of this proposal by the National Accord? There is no question that the members of the Armed Forces and the forces of order and the remaining supporters of the regime must seriously, calmly, and peacefully reflect on this proposal and on the response that Gen Pinochet has apparently already anticipated.

We have the complete text of the proposed constitutional reform. For reasons of space, however, we will limit ourselves to printing the main paragraphs of the preamble drawn up by this editorial committee. These outline changes to the existing Constitution.

A. Bases of Institutionalism

"Based on the opinion of the National Accord, it is suggested that Article 8 of the Constitution be replaced, declaring unconstitutional those parties, movements, and groups whose objectives, acts, or conduct do not respect the basic principles of the democratic regime and those that advocate or use violence as a method of political action."

B. President of the Republic

"Feeling that the excesses of the presidency affect the required balance for proper democratic stability, we propose eliminating the president's power to dissolve the Chamber of Deputies given to him by the Constitution.

"At the same time, we feel it is appropriate to retain the power that the 1925 Constitution gave to the Senate to approve diplomatic appointments made by the president of the republic."

C. States of Emergency

"On this subject, we point out three proposed changes:

"Repeal of Article 41, No. 3, which negates the right of appeal under states of assembly and martial law and the right of protection under states of emergency in general.

"Martial law is added to the situations that the president of the republic must inform the Congress about, establishing a deadline for this obligation.

"It is proposed to repeal the provision on expulsions from the territory and bans on reentering after the state of emergency that led to this measure is over."

D. Make-up, Election of Chamber of Deputies, Senate

"The committee unanimously agrees to propose that the Senate be made up of 50 members and the Chamber of Deputies 150. It is felt that any fewer could slow down legislative work and make it less efficient and of lower quality.

"It is also felt that all members of Parliament must originate from popular sovereignty, avoiding having congressmen of different rank and representation. Therefore, it is proposed to repeal those provisions that allow unelected members in the Senate.

"It is proposed that the electoral districts elect a minimum of three deputies each and that the regions elect a minimum of two senators each. Deputies and senators beyond these minimums would be elected by districts and regions proportionately, based on their respective populations.

"It was considered appropriate to eliminate the education and residence requirements in order to be elected deputy or senator."

E. Formation of the Law

"Since these are organic constitutional laws or laws that interpret constitutional precepts, the committee feels that the 'majority of the deputies and senators in office' is enough for approval, amendment, or repeal."

F. Constitutional Court

"The committee does not agree with the idea that this court be made up of representatives of the National Security Council. Neither does it agree with the opinion that representatives of the Supreme Court should be elected by successive secret vote.

"It proposes the following make-up for the Constitutional Court:

"Three ministers of the Supreme Court chosen by lot;

"Two lawyers appointed by the president of the republic;

"One lawyer chosen by the Senate; and

"One lawyer chosen by the Chamber of Deputies."

G. Electoral Court

"Going back to the 1925 Constitution, the committee proposes the following make-up of the Election Supervision Court:

"Two ministers of the Supreme Court chosen by lot;

"One minister from the Santiago Court of Appeals chosen by lot;

"One former president or former vice president of the Senate; and

"One former president or former vice president of the Chamber of Deputies.

"Concerning the last two, the committee feels that they should be chosen by lot among those who have held this position for at least for 1 year."

H. National Security Council

"Make-up: It is unanimously proposed that the president of the Chamber of Deputies and the comptroller general of the republic be added as members.

"Powers: The committee proposes elimination of Article 96, Letter b, that authorizes the council to represent the constitutional authorities facing any deed, act, or matter that, in its opinion, seriously attacks the bases of institutionalism or that can compromise national security."

I. Reform of the Constitution

"The committee unanimously supports the repeal of Article 118 that requires approval by the president of the republic and two-thirds of the members of each chamber for certain constitutional amendments."

J. Transitory Provisions

"The majority of the committee proposes the repeal of the 24th provision.

"It also proposes completely replacing the political plan for transition contained in the 24th, 28th, and 29th provisions, establishing a new procedure that the members basically agree on.

"It proposes convoking general elections for president of the republic and congressmen at least 90 days before the expiration of the current presidential term. The president in office is permitted to run for reelection but he must give up his position 6 months before the election. He would be replaced by the head of the Government Junta, according to some, or by the president of the Supreme Court, according to others."

7717
CSO: 3348/555

NATIONAL HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION REPORTS NEW TORTURE METHODS

Santiago CAUCE in Spanish 28 Apr-4 May 86 p 42

[Text] An alarming new outbreak of torture, using new techniques, has been detected in recent months by the Chilean Human Rights Commission after the UN special reporter, Fernando Volio, turned in his report on violations of basic human rights in our country.

This initial response by the Pinochet Government to the Volio Report has been most dramatic in the Fifth Region.

Between 18 and 19 March 1986, Jorge Carcamo, Roberto Weibel, Carlos Pinto, Abelardo Campos, Alfonso Figueroa, Hector Vega, and Luis Clavero were arrested by personnel of the CNI [National Information Center]. The first six were arrested in public and the last at his private residence.

Methods already known to the public were used for their arrest as well as during the days they stayed at CNI headquarters. The public arrests were made during the day. In order to distract the people in the area, they were made to appear as "mercenaries," accused of stealing wallets and necklaces. Through this technique, passersby did not intervene, especially since they saw that the kidnappers were heavily armed with machine guns.

Those arrested were taken to CNI headquarters on Calle Alvarez in Vina del Mar. The horrors suffered during the 7 days they were in the hands of their captors only became known last week after the Valparaiso Human Rights Commission filed a criminal complaint against the perpetrators of the pressure and torture.

Known Torture Methods...

The complainants state in their brief that they were all subjected to "inhumane, cruel, and humiliating treatment. We suffered the following treatment: being blindfolded at CNI headquarters until taken to the Military Prosecutor's Office on Monday, 24 March; loud music; physical exercises until exhaustion, once doing 300 squats; and suggestions of escape and subsequent execution. We were all forced to sign blank papers or papers we were not allowed to read. We were all photographed and filmed. They did not let us sleep and we received something to eat only on the third day after we were arrested."

The list of tortures is shocking. Jorge Carcamo indicated: "During some 30 sessions, I was subjected to the application of electric shock all over my body using the following procedure. I was seated on a metal chair with my feet, legs, and hands tied behind the back. Wires were connected to my feet, others to my legs at the thigh and behind the knees, others to my arms, one to my anus, and another to my testicles and penis. Another wire was loose so the torturer could apply it indiscriminately to my mouth, tongue, nostrils, temples, eyes, and ears while the electric current was on."

Abelardo Campos related a new method: "They put some kind of crown with needles on my head in order to apply the electric shock. When the current was applied to the 'crown' and the chair, I had the feeling that the chair was moving from side to side and at times turning. They pressed rubber goggles into my eyes."

Those tortured, now being held in the Santiago Public Jail, are accused of belonging to a military structure of the Communist Party. According to government reports, the area chief is Jorge Carcamo. While he was in the hands of the CNI, he made a film admitting different attacks. The pressure to make the tape was denounced by Carcamo himself in a handwritten letter delivered to his wife: "Under threats of killing me and my family who, according to them, were in their possession, I was forced to make a television tape, advised by specialized personnel. In it, I admitted responsibility for a number of attacks both in Santiago and in the Fifth Region. Also I had to make an appeal to the members and leadership of the Communist Party to 'put aside our arms and our terrorist policy.'"

Carcamo admitted his Communist membership but denied all the charges made by the CNI. He called himself a "democratic fighter, not a terrorist like my captors."

The leaders of the Santiago Human Rights Commission decided to make this situation public in order to avoid what happened on other occasions when, after showing these films, the people have been killed.

7717
CSO: 3348/555

COLUMNIST VIEWS U.S. POLITICAL PRESSURE, ECONOMIC AID

Santiago MENSAJE in Spanish May 86 pp 125-127

[Commentary by Carlos Portales]

[Text] The United States Government has made increasingly direct and strong statements supporting the transition to democracy in Chile. It advocates a transition negotiated among "the forces within the government that favor a transition, and the forces within the opposition that favor negotiation . . ."[1]

Change in Policy

The signing of the National Accord for the transition to full democracy was regarded by the State Department as "the basis (bases) for a broad consensus among all groups committed to seeking a peaceful and political solution to Chile's problems."[2] After the National Accord was signed, a change of emphasis became apparent in the congressional testimony of State Department officials in charge of Latin America with regard to the policy toward Chile. Whereas in March 1985 officials contended that "although democracy is our principal objective, our policy reflects the full range of American interests in Chile, and is not determined definitively by just one aspect,"[3] last December it was asserted that "/the/ [word enclosed in slantlines printed in boldface] most effective way to achieve the various and diverse objectives of our interest in Chile . . . is to encourage the restoration of democracy."[4]

Another significant change in the use of public diplomacy as a means to achieve more flexibility in the positions of the Chilean government is the shift in votes at the United Nations concerning the observance of human rights in our country. Although the Reagan administration has called attention to the human rights situation in Chile in increasingly outspoken terms, it had taken a stand against the yearly condemnations issued by the UN organizations, on the grounds that a double standard was being applied. As recently as last December, the U.S. representatives voted against such a measure in the UN General Assembly and abstained in the Organization of American States. As a result, any mention of Chile was eliminated from the resolution on human rights at the last OAS General Assembly. The United States had not used the argument of the double standard at the OAS. In contrast, last March at the United Nations Commission on Human Rights in Geneva, the United States called for a vote on the critical report issued by Special Rapporteur Fernando Volio, and it was unanimously approved. Volio had been appointed a year earlier with U.S. support, and his report paved the way for a resolution urging the Chilean Government to take steps on a series of specific points designed to achieve the full observance of human rights and to change the political regime which is considered to have produced these repeated violations.

Military Ties

As for military ties, the Reagan administration's policy has been to strengthen them through contacts at the highest level. Thus, in 1985 Adm Merino visited the United States twice, and Gen Matthei made another visit. And in November Gen John Wickham, chief of the U.S. Army General Staff, came to Santiago. Efforts to continue these contacts with the Chilean Army suffered a setback when the vice-commander in chief, Gen Sinclair, declined an invitation to visit the United States sometime this year. It should be noted that the embargo on weapons transfers remains in effect until the president of the United States certifies the end of the systematic violation of human rights in Chile, pursuant to U.S. legislation. In spite of that, commercial exports of military materiel amounting to $964,000 were authorized in fiscal 1985,[5] and Congress has been asked to allocate funds for fiscal 1986 to renew the International Military Training and Education Program with the Chilean Armed Forces, although the implementation of the program is subject to a prior human rights certification by President Reagan.[6]

Economic Aid

In the economic sphere, multilateral support for the Chilean economy has been indispensable in the last year for the government to meet its economic targets. In June 1985 the government reached an agreement with the principal creditor banks on a debt renegotiation package that contained new credits for $1.085 billion and the restructuring of $6 billion in credits that were to fall due through the end of 1987. The agreement included a loan cofinanced by the World Bank and the commercial banks, establishing an unprecedented World Bank guarantee that loans from commercial banks would be repaid. This element was essential for the approval of the renegotiation package, and its inclusion was supported by the U.S. Treasury Department. In August 1985 the International Monetary Fund approved another package of loans for $845 million for a 3-year term.[7]

This economic aid has meant privileged treatment for the government in the present international economic context, a treatment supported by the United States Government. The U.S. representatives at the World Bank and the Inter-American Development Bank approved credits for the unprecedented amount of $774.4 million in 1985.[8]

The Chilean Government has adjusted its management of the economy to the requirements laid down by the multilateral financial agencies, the private banks, and the U.S. Government, particularly by generating surpluses to service the foreign debt. This "disciplining" has been well rewarded, in contrast to the cold reception the parameters established in New York and Washington have received in the rest of Latin America.

Prospects for Change

What are the factors that explain the emphasis on the transition to democracy? Since President Reagan launched his international campaign in 1982 in favor of democracy as the ideological backdrop of his foreign policy, the distinction between totalitarianism and authoritarianism (which guided the policy of openly denouncing Marxist regimes while engaging in quiet diplomacy with the dicatorships of the right) began to lose its force. The present administration's Central American policy has stressed the issue of democracy in order to combat the Sandinist regime in Nicaragua from that standpoint. In this context, the public criticism of the Chilean Government has been presented as a counterweight designed to win domestic political support, primarily in Congress. Beyond the rhetoric, however, the means used with the Chilean regime in no way resemble the trade embargo and the impediments against financing for Nicaragua by multilateral agencies, much less the support for the guerrillas who are waging a military battle against the Sandinists.

The emphasis on democracy has risen as a theme of public opinion in the United States since the toppling of the Duvalier and Marcos regimes. The idea of a "third force" between authoritarianism and totalitarianism emerged as the solution for changing these regimes. It was in this context that President Reagan sent his message to Congress on 14 March, contending that "the American people believe in human rights and oppose tyranny in any form, whether on the left or the right."[9]

Whatever happens in our country will be a determining factor in the direction U.S. policy takes. Whether the military government is inflexible or compliant in paving the way for a transition to a regime that includes the demands of the democratic polical parties and the social organizations, on the one hand; and whether the opposition is able to create facts and situations that can alter the intransigence, on the other hand, will both determine the policy of the U.S. Government. The statements made by its representatives have more than rhetorical value; they will determine future policy, in the sense that if the Americans do not see positive results, they will be faced with the dilemma of either seeking other ways of exerting influence, or toning down their blunt statements.

Among those who influence decisionmaking in Washington, the problem is causing increasing concern. "Action must be taken before things reach the point of no return," states conservative academic Mark Falcoff with reference to the Chilean situation. "If things grow worse in Santiago, more ambitious legislative initiatives will be presented, perhaps much more drastic than any measure ever contemplated by the Carter administration." He adds that "if no concrete progress is made toward a political restitution (of democracy) as a minimum, the Chilean Government can expect that the Reagan administration will vote against it in the World Bank, where some very important deadlines are coming up in 1987 and 1988."[10]

The fear of the risks of an increasing sociopolitical polarization and its effects on the nature and stability of the future political system in Chile will weigh on the final decisions made in Washington.

FOOTNOTES

1. Statement by James H. Michel, assistant undersecretary of state for inter-American affairs, at the joint session of the Foreign Affairs of the Western Hemisphere and Human Rights Subcommittees of the U.S. House of Representatives on 20 March 1985. OFFICIAL TEXT, Culture and Press Service of the U.S. Embassy in Santiago, 10 April 1985.
2. "Chronology, Chilean-U.S. Relations," July and August 1985, in CONO SUR, Vol. IV, No. 5, November-December 1985.
3. Ibid., note 1.
4. Statement on Chile by Elliot Abrams to the Finance Subcommittee of the U.S. House of Representatives. OFFICIAL TEXT, Culture and Press Service of the U.S. Embassy in Santiago, 13 December 1985. Emphasis mine.
5. Department of Defense, Security Assistance Agency, FOREIGN MILITARY SALES; FOREIGN MILITARY CONSTRUCTION SALES AND MILITARY ASSISTANCE FACTS, Data Management Division, Comptroller, DSAA, Washington, D.C. as of September 30, 1985, p. 43.
6. Congressional Presentation, "Security Assistance Program F.Y. 1986," Washington, D.C.
7. FINANCIAL TIMES, 29 June 1985, and JOURNAL OF COMMERCE, 19 August 1985.
8. "Administration Fits New Face to Chile Policy," LATIN AMERICA UPDATE, January-February 1986, p. 2.
9. Message from President Reagan to the U.S. Congress on regional conflicts, 14 March 1986, CONSULTATION MATERIAL, Culture and Press Service, U.S. Embassy in Santiago, 18 March 1986.
10. Mark Falcoff, "Chile: The Dilemma for U.S. Policy," FOREIGN AFFAIRS, Spring 1986, pp. 833-848.

8926
CSO: 3348/553

EPISCOPAL CONFERENCE DOCUMENT URGES CONSTITUTIONAL REFORMS

Santiago MENSAJE in Spanish No 348 May 86 p 168

[Text] Justice or Violence

Episcopal Conference of Chile, April 1986

1. We gathered in the Plenary Assembly in the spirit of faith and hope that is born of the Lord's resurrection. At it we discussed the Holy Father's visit to our homeland and addressed other major issues both for the Church and the country.

2. We regard the Holy Father's visit as a gift of grace from God to our Church and to all Chileans.

He is coming to confirm our faith and to renew our hope. Like his, our mission is to announce the Glad Tidings of Jesus, the Risen Lord, and to recall the moral values that derive from the Gospel and that must inspire life.

3. The country is still feeling the scourge of violence: attacks on Carabineros, the slaying of a political leader and a student, a disproportionate repression of demonstrations. These are the most recent incidents in a long chain that is sowing death and destruction throughout the country.

The feeling is that this year will be one of difficult and painful confrontations. Never again do we want the blood of brothers to be shed in Chile. We want peace, which is the fruit of justice.

4. We identify with the anxieties and hopes of all. We can hear the clamor for justice and against violence, a clamor so loud and widespread that "if we were to remain silent, the rocks would speak" and "the Lord would call us bad shepherds."

5. We hope that full justice is done to those who have disappeared, who have been killed, mistreated and even had their throats cut. It is not enough to assert that justice is tardy but eventually comes. Justice that is not

administered when it should be is injustice. It impairs social coexistence. It does not satisfy the aggrieved parties.

The fact that several political crimes have not yet been cleared up has created a climate of mistrust and suspicion that has generated tension and hatred that is harming all Chileans. God wants justice and truth without ambiguities. Without them, reconciliation is unlikely.

6. Along with the problem of justice, the current legal system seems to us to need serious revision. Addressing this problem means broaching the delicate issue of the 1980 Constitution and the political laws. It seems to us that the time has come to study this situation.

The Chilean people must know that in the near future they will be able to organize their civic coexistence in keeping with the desire of the great majority. They would thus be starting down the road to peace and to overcoming the violence that threatens to destroy the country. The more time passes, the greater the damage will be, and the consequences could be very grave for the country.

No one who really seeks to serve his brethren from a position of authority and for the sake of the common good can refuse, above all under these critical circumstances, to listen to this appeal for peace. To a Christian, this is an obligation that weighs on his conscience.

7. We invite each individual to take up his own moral and civic responsibilities. The people are anxiously waiting for a response. The response must be forthcoming from among us all. History teaches us that only with the involvement of the people, who are the ones to be served, can answers that the people will really accept be found.

8. We will continue to pray for Chile. We invite everyone to join in these prayers. Constant prayer will assure tomorrow's brotherhood. Prayer by all will convince us that a country of brothers is being built by accepting the unconditional love of Our Lord Jesus Christ, who calls on us to behave just as unconditionally towards others.

9. We entrust this word to Mary, Our Mother, who was and remains a servant and who lives in the heart and bosom of this people. She invites us to put all arrogance aside. She invites us to open the paths to peace and to become, with her and like her, "servants of life."

On behalf of the Episcopal Conference of Chile,

Sergio Contreras N.
Bishop of Temuco
Bishop Secretary General of
the Episcopal Conference of Chile

Bernardino Pinera C.
Archbishop of La Serena
President of the Episcopal
Conference of Chile

8743
CSO: 3348/559

CHILE

COMMUNIST PARTY LEADER DISCUSSES LEFTIST COALITION

Lima UNIDAD in Spanish 24 Apr 86 p 10

[Interview with Luis Guastavino, exiled leader of the Popular Democratic Movement, in Peru: "Imperialism Made FFAA into Military Political Parties"; date not given; first paragraph is UNIDAD introduction]

[Text] Luis Guastavino, exiled Chilean deputy and political leader of the Popular Democratic Movement, visited Peru last week as part of a long itinerary. President Alan Garcia Perez personally received him and had a friendly talk with him. UNIDAD interviewed him and brought up the inevitable topic of the Chilean people's fight for liberation from the yoke of Pinochet. The following is the context of the interview.

[Question] Comrade Guastavino, what could you tell the Peruvian people at this point about political events and the fight for liberation of the Chilean people?

[Answer] Well, I can tell you that we carefully follow the fight that your government has undertaken against the basic enemy of this people, my people, and the peoples of Latin America in general. We are watching Peru, through President Alan Garcia Perez, give real content to anti-imperialism like he just did in Argentina when he warned that he will break relations with the United States if it attacks Nicaragua.

We express complete solidarity with that difficult and complex policy but we also have to tell the Peruvian people that they will soon receive the news they are waiting for with "Solidarity Forward." I mean the overthrow of Pinochet's fascist dictatorship in Chile through the growing, massive, and multifaceted fight of the immense majority of Chilean society.

We know that this news will be happily received by the working class and all the people of fraternal Peru. We also know that the entire world will share in this certain victory when the Chilean people regain their freedom and their democracy.

[Question] How is that popular struggle spreading in Chile?

[Answer] The imperial United States and its vassals in the native oligarchies have caused too much tragedy, pain, and exploitation of our peoples. They are desperate because of the new awareness of the masses, spread through historic feats like the Cuban and Sandinist revolutions. This means that the people themselves have decided to take a leading role in defending their present and their future.

Facing desperation in the last 20 years, the Pentagon and the oligarchies learned that the classic political parties of the right in each one of our countries would no longer serve them. They resolved to transform the Armed Forces into military political parties.

Thus, Latin America was plagued by horrible military dictatorships. In recent years, "a civil war" carried out by the armies against the peoples through terror and repression has materialized under the banner of anti-Communism and the diabolical aegis of the National Security Doctrine. The result is visible: Chile is the best example. In 12 years, it has suffered barbaric genocide through crime, torture, and violation of all human rights. This has just been condemned by the UN Human Rights Commission with the Peruvian Government--for the first time in 12 years--voting for the Chilean people.

[Question] Comrade Guastavino, how does the Coalition of the Left mobilize?

[Answer] I can tell the Peruvian people that I have not come to this country of solidarity to cry about the pain and tragedy of the Chilean people, but to proclaim the struggles and hopes for victory that are spreading throughout the country. The Communist Party of Chile and the important Coalition of the Left, called the Popular Democratic Movement, have fought and fight tenaciously to overcome all the problems that impede the broadest and strongest democratic reorganization in order to confront the main enemy, dictator Pinochet.

Today we verify that there has been an understanding among all the opposing forces, without exception, for a massive social mobilization within this movement. Therefore, it is indispensable to leave behind all sectarianism, expand the political horizon, and eliminate mutual mistrust among the different political and democratic forces. Otherwise, it only helps Pinochet.

Finally, I say to the Peruvian people that when the Chilean dictator falls, a democratic government in my fatherland will be a reinforcement for Peru's fight against imperialism. It will be a factor of rapprochement on such inevitable topics as reduction of military expenses and will further strengthen fraternal coexistence between our nations.

[Question] What have you been doing? What can you tell us as you leave?

[Answer] I am very impressed by and grateful for the demonstrations of affection and solidarity that I have received from the different political and social sectors of the Peruvian people. I am carrying out an exhausting but very encouraging itinerary. I had a meeting with the president of Peru, Dr Alan Garcia Perez, which I felt was very significant and cordial. I also participated in several conferences and meetings with political organizations, university students, professional institutions, and labor unions like the CGTP [General Confederation of Peruvian Workers], the largest labor union in Peru.

I leave satisfied with the work done. I can say that all the initiatives received have to do with strengthening the solidarity of the countries of the Southern Cone through the Chilean people. This is unquestionably closely related to the Great Argentine Meeting of Solidarity with Chile to be held on 9 and 10 May with delegations from Peru, Uruguay, Bolivia, and Brazil.

7717
CSO: 3348/555

CHILE

MAPU LEADER BARRUETO AIMS TO ACHIEVE UNITY OF LEFTIST FORCES

Santiago ANALISIS in Spanish 29 Apr - 5 May 86 pp 25-26

[Interview with MAPU Secretary General Victor Barrueto by Alicia Oliva; date, time, and place not given]

[Text] In the past week, the United Popular Action Movement (MAPU) made public a resolution from its recent Plenum (the first it has held since the "Congress of Unity" in May 1985). The resolution called for its "full incorporation" into the National Accord (AN).

The secretary general of MAPU, Victor Barrueto, granted an interview to ANALISIS in which he responded to the questions that have arisen in connection with this request. It comes at a time when many consider the AN a "paralyzed" effort, while others simply see no possibility for its survival. The leader expressed his party's view of the current situation, which is characterized by great social unrest and by the effort of the Opposition (at the level of the social organizations) to seek a common road for the country's return to democracy: the "Assembly of Civility."

[Question] Let us begin with the recent National Plenum. What emerged from this meeting with regard to the country's present situation?

[Answer] We believe that the mobilizations, which are the principal alternative chosen by the Opposition as a whole, are showing signs of effectiveness and progress. We have the actions of women, doctors, and particularly students; the country in general is experiencing a period of effervescence; progress is being made on different fronts with partial movements. And along with that, we are making advances, slow but progressive, in the upper political echelons. There are a variety of talks and partial understandings that can be regarded as positive, although not definitive. But the major conclusion is that this great tide of potential energy has not yet managed to get behind a great demand, a great alternative to confront and challenge this regime once and for all. For this reason, the immediate, most urgent task is to seek a consensus and a national unity broad enough to bring all these things together.

[Question] And what is the way to do that?

[Answer] By achieving broad unity on a variety of fronts, without exclusion and without ideology. The time has come to move beyond the political framework that was created in 1983. That framework was determined primarily by long-term partisan ideological interests: the Democratic Alliance, the Popular Democratic Movement, and the Socialist Bloc.

We believe that the time has come to hammer out consensuses and to form alliances that put national interests first. In this regard, we do have experience; we have progressed. The National Accord is an indication of that, because it has brought together a wide variety of forces, and basically offered the country an alternative of governability for the future. That was its role. In another area, we have the Democratic Intransigents, who have become a very influential opinion movement in society by showing the way to democratic unity without exclusion. We also have the Political Youth Coordinating Board; young people have shown that because they have no old wounds, and perhaps because their main experience has been gained under this dictatorship and in the struggle for democracy, they are much more capable than their elders of putting common interests and points of agreement ahead of differences and partisan interests.

At present, I believe that we have come to a milestone, perhaps the most important one from the point of view of moving toward broad, non-exclusive, non-ideological alliances: the Assembly of Civility.

[Question] The Assembly of Civility is one of the principal themes we would like to address. But before that, some points regarding the AN. You have mentioned it among the positive steps toward unity . . .

[Answer] Certainly, because we believe that the AN did play a role. It has already played that role, and one can consider it successful. That is undeniable: It expressed a very broad unity that clearly offered the country an alternative to Pinochet. It stated that here the choice is not "Pinochet or chaos." The international forces (the U.S. Government, European countries, and Latin American countries) perceived it that way, and the Church supported it. Moreover, that was the way the Armed Forces and the whole country perceived it.

[Question] The AN was exclusive, however, and sparked difficulties among the Opposition.

[Answer] Sure, because later on it was used. I want to emphasize, however, that aside from what may happen among the signatories, regardless of their different opinions and the use they have made of it, that document, that consensus, exists. There is an alternative of governability in democracy.

What happened was that the moment Pinochet "slammed the door in its face," the Accord became paralyzed. In my opinion, a major factor in that paralyzation has been the fact that most of the signatories have accepted the veto issued by Allamand's National Unity Movement (MUN) regarding any initiative that anyone has tried to take.

[Question] Even so, MAPU wants to go from supporter to full-fledged member of the AN?

[Answer] At a time of crisis like the one the country is undergoing now, an attempt to revitalize the essential elements of the Accord could contribute positively to the search for a political solution. We believe--and for this reason we have asked to serve on the board--that at this time there is sufficient willingness to reactivate the AN. This basically takes the form of pressuring on several fronts to establish a political scenario in Chile, and to implement immediate measures. The Armed Forces are sensitive to that, and in that regard the AN can play a role.

[Question] And in this whole setting, what impact do you think the Assembly of Civility will have?

[Answer] The assembly is the main thing we have in front of us, from the standpoint of social and political unity. As proposed, it will undoubtedly be the broadest and most participative effort at unity that has taken place in all these years. It will unite the most active sectors with the more moderate sectors that have only begun to join the overall mobilization in recent times. And if this assembly really turns out to be as broad as we hope, it may mark the beginning of a political process that will lead to the most decisive moments in the struggle this year. It could even become--and I say this with some reservations--an alternative center of leadership for the country, with considerable vitality and strength.

[Question] What role do the political parties have in this initiative taken by the social sectors?

[Answer] The political parties have played a rather active role. The public may not have been made sufficiently aware of this, but behind all of these social forces which are playing--and we hope they continue to play--quite an active role, lie all of the political forces. And I think that this must be made very explicit, because it is legitimate and necessary.

In our view, the increasing political and social unity among the people is the key factor that will require, demand and enable broader alliances. The Assembly of Civility is an opportunity, because it encompasses the principal social organizations and the majority of the political parties that are participating in the social and popular movement. I hope we do not waste that opportunity.

[Question] In an interview with ANALISIS in August of last year, you mentioned a lack of harmony between the political leadership and the rank and file. Given all of the above, can it be said that this picture has changed fundamentally?

[Answer] There is no doubt that at that time the situation was much more serious. There has been progress, but there are still major gaps. To a great extent, I share the view expressed by Renan Fuentealba in a recent interview with ANALISIS. He said that he is ashamed of politics. I think he is right. The most active sectors in the country are disappointed when we politicians fail to attract them, to provide them with alternatives capable of producing major movements and generating enough enthusiasm to rally around them; when they still see the lack of richness and grandeur--as Fuentealba said--in politics. I think it is very important to overcome all that. And I also believe it is necessary to take up a cause that was very strong at one point: the renovation of politics. This means understanding that its basic role is not to make a given person, party or group powerful, but rather to make the people powerful. It means that politicians must understand that it is possible to transform the national situation in a much richer and fuller way through society; that politicians must engage in politics by joining together and being much more aware of people's real problems.

Getting back to the Assembly of Civility, we believe that it is there that the interests of the country and real demands can be put ahead of ideological differences. Proposals should emerge from that gathering that can serve to focus the mobilization and subsequent unification efforts, and of course the content and nature of the national strike. It is imperative, for example, that the assembly issue a demand for decent jobs for all Chileans, as a very central theme that is just as important as the demand for democracy. Because that, without a doubt, is the country's main social problem.

[Question] But political demands should also emerge from that assembly . . .

[Answer] Yes, and we think it is essential that it seek to resolve the conflict of legitimacy that is currently plaguing the country, between the legitimacy of the regime and that of the proposals which emerge from the assembly. We think that these political demands should contain an itinerary for the transition that poses an alternative to the Constitution of 1980, and that the assembly should propose that this conflict be resolved in the only democratic way that exists: by appealing to popular sovereignty, to the verdict of the citizens.

8926
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CHRISTIAN DEMOCRAT, COMMUNIST LEADERS EXPLAIN DIFFERENCES

Santiago QUE PASA in Spanish 30 Apr-7 May 86 pp 38-41

[Interview with Jose Ruiz Di Giorgio, vice-president of the Christian Democrats, and Jose Sanfuentes, secretary general of the Popular Democratic Movement, by Cristina Ferrer; date, time, and place not given]

[Text] Yes. No. The matter of the agreements between the Christian Democrats (DC) and the Communist Party (PC) is like a story that never ends . . . and that no one can understand.

"There are no political pacts," asserts the DC.

"Unfortunately, there are not even any secret agreements," claims the PC.

But could there be any in the future? That is what many people are wondering today. When the youths of both political groups are seen sitting at the same bargaining table to call for the departure of Pinochet, among other things, is that a political pact or not? Or when there is talk of an Assembly of Civility "that will gather together the most diverse groups in the country, of whatever political stripe" to demand a change in government, is that a political pact or not?

No, that is a "social pact." One that is supported, backed indiscriminately by the DC or the PC, which is "very different." That is what they say.

Little by little, in the opposition a kind of tacit union is taking shape between the DC and the PC (or rather, the leftist forces joined together in the Popular Democratic Movement, MDP). The top leaders insist that they will not sign any "political pacts." But in practice, they are seen together . . .

How can that be? What is to prevent them from having "political pacts" if they already have "social pacts"? What is the difference between the two?

To understand "the story," QUE PASA invited Jose Ruiz Di Giorgio (vice-president of the Christian Democrats and a leader of the petroleum sector) and Jose Sanfuentes (a communist who is secretary general of the Popular Democratic Movement) to sit down face to face. Both of them explained their views of the expectations both the DC and the MDP have about working together, whether it be in the social or the political sphere. Specifically, they talked about drawing up a future government program.

Same Old Differences?

Ferrer: Today it is clear that both the DC and the PC are holding talks together, and they appear to have become friendlier with each other now than at any time since 11 September. How did you overcome your differences over the last few years?

Ruiz Di Giorgio: Throughout the history of the democratic regime, we were constantly at loggerheads. We were political adversaries. Now, without a doubt, since 11 September there has been a change in Chile's situation. The same thing is happening here that happened during World War II, when the United States, a capitalist country par excellence, joined with the communist Russians to face a common enemy, Hitler. And the same thing is going on here today . . . During the initial years of this government, the DC became aware that Pinochet was trying to perpetuate himself in power, and began to study ways of dealing with the problem. It was not easy to reach an understanding with the people of Popular Unity in the early years, because we had clashed rather severely with them before, and that left deep wounds. But reality is stronger than feelings, and the DC has come to understand that it is necessary to seek points of agreement with all those who are interested in putting an end to the dictatorship.

Sanfuentes: I would say that our historical relationship with the PDC was one of competition. But we were united on fundamental issues, such as the nationalization of copper. Now, under the present circumstances, there is an exceptional situation. We as a people are coming up against a reality that is like a ton of bricks: the reign of terror as a form of government. It is the same as the situation that Europe faced under the threat of Hitler . . . For this reason, the democratic forces of the country naturally must seek a solution to this emergency above all else.

Ferrer: Do the differences that made you political adversaries still exist today? How would you describe those differences today?

Ruiz Di Giorgio: Important differences clearly remain. The PC has an overall vision of society that is much different from that of the DC. But at this time, the country's problem is not merely a matter of future ideological programs . . . rather, the problem of today is one of restoring democracy. We must establish a rule of law so that we will be able to discuss our programs before the people. Today it is inappropriate to be concerned about discussing ideological differences with the communists or with the fascists who are supporting this government.

Ferrer: Why don't you specify which differences are important today?

Ruiz Di Giorgio: If we had no differences, there would be no Democratic Alliance or MDP. There are problems, and some differences arise, primarily with respect to the pacing of the strategies that must be pursued to do away with the dictatorial regime. And the DC advocates social mobilization as the method of action today; it calls attention to the need to involve the vast majority of the population. We believe that there can be no peaceful solution without the broad, massive participation of the people. And we also believe that it is necessary to draft a political program that will permit the regime to be replaced with a real transitional government.

Sanfuentes: It is true that we must begin by considering the ideological and practical differences that separate the Communists and the Christian Democrats. But neither should we create a mystique around the gap between them, which some people try to exaggerate. True, there are profound and important differences: The Christian Democrats' doctrine is inspired by Christianity; the Communists are inspired by Marxism-Leninism. But we must point out that the gap exists in relation to what the Christians call an eschatological element of faith, the belief in the existence of life after death. From the standpoint of humanism, there are major points of practical agreement between Christianity and Marxism. With regard to specific programs, we have always maintained that the perspective of a Christian Democrat who desires democracy can have a lot in common with that of a leftist. Although the programs stem from principles, the principles also have their roots in reality. I am convinced that in planning for the future, we will have more areas of agreement between the DC and the left in practice. I do not mean by this that there will be no differences. But today our policy is to let life itself resolve our differences.

Ferrer: Is the development of "all forms of struggle" the difference that lies between the MDP from the DC today?

Sanfuentes: For us, the social mobilization, the struggle of millions of Chileans, is also the central axis. A group of daredevils, no matter how brave, no matter how many tanks, planes or bazookas they had, would gain nothing from trying to confront the dictatorship alone. All Chileans must confront the dictatorship, finding all necessary and possible methods . . . Thus, we favor the incorporation of the largest possible majority in this battle.

Paces and Paces

Ferrer: It has been said that the DC and the MDP operate at different paces. Is that another major difference?

Ruiz Di Giorgio: Sure. When we advocate social mobilization as a key element of our actions, we recognize that it has a pace that has to be geared to the desires of the average sectors. Some middle-class sectors have become inhibited by fear. But the entire process of destruction that the business sector has been suffering, for example, has led them to take more critical stands. Now, the people who are in the MDP or the PC, perhaps because they have individuals from more modest sectors among their ranks, have on more than one occasion tried to speed up the pace. They have a tendency to accelerate, while we have a tendency to moderate the pace. But not to paralyze social action. I believe that this effort can be seen in the Assembly of Civility, which is the fruit of the maturity, both political and social, of the social organizations. And the political organizations are supporting this. This is taking place without the need for the famous political pacts. Because we agree with the MDP in supporting what the real social world of today is doing, respecting its autonomy.

Sanfuentes: First of all, I agree with Pepe that it is necessary to incorporate the middle-echelon sectors into the social mobilization. I also agree that there are different paces, although I would call them different degrees of urgency. The unemployed worker who has nothing to give his children to eat, the student who is beaten up, those people have an urgent need for this situation to change as soon as possible. The businessman also wants this to happen, but he is not starving to death. Secondly, I think that the coordination of forces must be definite, and that the paces should respond to the great urgency that exists in Chile. Finally, I also think that in the last 12 years, the experience of a government that excludes all civic and political participation has made the rank and file aware of their autonomy and of their ability to make decisions to solve their problems independently of the political parties. Under the democratic system, the parties served as intermediaries between the rank and file and the government. Now, in contrast, the masses do not have the parties to do that, and they have learned a new way to relate to them.

Ferrer: You have talked about the autonomy of the social world. Could you explain where you draw the line between the social and political spheres? The DC says that it can have pacts with the MDP on social matters, but that there is no political pact. What is the difference between the two?

Ruiz Di Giorgio: There is a difference. The labor union world or the social world has its own dynamics. Although most union leaders are political activists, not all those who elect them are equally active politically. Therefore, forging political pacts would ignore the will of the vast majority of one's constituency. Today, however, the workers know that there is no point in fighting for their rights if there is no institutionalized protection for them. For this reason, our first obligation as union leaders is to restore that rule of law.

Sanfuentes: In a given society there are various ways of expressing the will of the people. And the people who join together to assert their rights and redress grievances are the same people as those who express their desires in corporate organizations, regardless of political stripe, because they have common interests. But those same people express their views from a political standpoint, and join together in parties whose role is to point the way to the conquest of political power. Now, under an arbitrary and exceptional regime such as the one we have today, all these social organizations realize that their most basic interests cannot be served under the dictatorship. Therefore, they advocate changing the government in power. Because today the struggle for bread and for jobs is intimately tied to the struggle to replace those who hold power.

Ferrer: In other words, you are claiming that at this time there is no difference between the social and the political?

Ruiz Di Giorgio: Today that line of difference does exist . . .

Ferrer: What is it, then?

Ruiz Di Giorgio: Today the social world has acquired a different significance than it had under normal circumstances. When there are political parties that are devising strategies to lead the country, the social world tends to use the political leaders as intermediaries with the government. But today the parties are not playing that role because they are totally excluded. And the social world is becoming a political actor itself.

Ferrer: So what is preventing the leaders of the DC from signing a political pact with the MDP?

Ruiz Di Giorgio: The difference is the following: We believe that when we get to the point of signing a document, we have reached substantive agreements. At this time we are holding talks with all the political parties that are interested and are working for social mobilization, . . . including the PC. These contacts are necessary. In other words, we are not in a position to sign a political pact with the MDP, but we can agree on supporting the joint actions that emerge from the assembly of civilian forces. That is what we are working on today . . .

Ferrer: And would the MDP be in a position to sign a political pact with the DC?

Sanfuentes: There has been a lot of talk of pacts and secret meetings between the PC and the DC. Such pacts do not exist, unfortunately. No doubt all the forces of the MDP would like to have not only secret agreements, but open pacts. Just as we are joining together to encourage social mobilization and civil disobedience, we also hope to reach more far-reaching political agreements. Because what do we do when the dictatorship ends? Fight like cats and dogs? No, we must at least seek a framework of governability to lend stability to the future democracy. And I think we can reach an understanding on that.

Ferrer: Does the DC see any possibility of arriving at such a pact?

Ruiz Di Giorgio (reading from a letter sent by the DC to the MDP): "We are studying for the near future a broad program of differentiation between the democracy and the dictatorship . . . That means calling together all political and social forces to take a stand on this fundamental dilemma . . . (. . .) We feel that within this setting, the debate will be more fruitful and decisive." This makes it absolutely clear that under certain conditions, the DC is willing to talk with /all/ [word enclosed in slantlines printed in boldface] the social and political forces in the country. We do not want to exclude anyone. We have to be able to seek a solution without resorting to confrontation, because we regard it as futile though not illegitimate. We believe that there still is a way out: a broad, massive, sustained social mobilization. If this outlet is not available, violence will take over the country, not because the people want it but because the government's attitude is engendering it.

Use of Force

Ferrer: Mr Ruiz Di Giorgio, you say that a confrontation with the Armed Forces would be futile, but not illegitimate. When is the use of force justified?

Ruiz Di Giorgio: We feel that it is not possible to overthrow the government by military means, not because of any problem of illegitimacy, but because it is absolutely impossible. We do not want a civil war for Chileans. But I am talking about the legitimate use of force when a people is oppressed and there is no other way out. But they must have the means to make use of force, or what force are you talking about? . . . Moreover, we must bear in mind that the legitimate use of force implies that it does not cause further damage, and that it will aim at resolving the conflict. Thus, even if it is legitimate, at a given moment, it is not possible because it is not realistic . . .

Ferrer: But at this time the MDP has stated that the use of violence is legitimate . . .

Ruiz Di Giorgio: I am talking about the use of force, of forming an army to confront Pinochet. I am not referring to terrorism or violence.

Ferrer: And what about the MDP's assertion about the use of terrorism, of violent mobilization?

Ruiz Di Giorgio: We clearly delineate the different forms of mobilization. But when there is state violence, . . .

Ferrer: But in that regard, the MDP assertion would also come into play.

Ruiz Di Giorgio: Well, that is precisely one of the problems. The DC does not support or value the use of terrorism or the actions of the Rodriguist brigades. I believe that the Patriotic Front's position is not helping the process toward change; I think they are wrong . . . But we have to understand that there is another problem: To what extent will the violence be controlled, paralyzed, as long as the government is able to repress as it does? There are people who have taken more violent positions as a result of a desperate situation. How can one tell a young man who is out of work and whose father disappeared or was murdered, "No, son, don't be violent, you must be peaceful"? It's not that I'm justifying violence, but these people are acting out of desperation . . . or ultimately, because they have a different view of things and actually believe in that . . .

Ferrer: And what is the MDP's position? To what extent does it promote the "development of all forms of struggle"?

Sanfuentes: We do not want a confrontation with the Armed Forces. Nor are we advocating a widespread armed confrontation between the entire nation and the dictatorship. Nor is it a matter of a guerrilla commando of "He-Mans or Batmans" (sic) coming in and boldly challenging the dictatorship. No. It is a question of the people having the legitimate right to develop the means available to them to defend themselves against this tyranny that has now become unbearable. We do not favor terrorism, as this government has tried to lead people to believe. Nor do we believe that the Patriotic Front intends to attack innocent people in the nation's streets with impunity. The only real terrorism is that of the state, which is indeed threatening the lives of the innocent and the unarmed . . .

Ferrer: Isn't planting bombs terrorism?

Sanfuentes: I would say that planting a bomb is not attacking innocent people because there have been no fatalities . . . In that regard, I would like to state categorically that we abhor violence. We abhor it profoundly; we abhor the economic violence that has been perpetrated for decades; we abhor the physical violence that is perpetrated against the vast majority. And because we abhor violence, we are even willing to use it.

Future Programs

Ferrer: Since both parties are looking for a formula to restore democracy, can you briefly define the program you have in mind for the country's future?

Ruiz Di Giorgio: A new constitution must make the role of the Armed Forces very clear. They are not a deliberative body that can decide upon or oversee democracy. Secondly, the courts that emerge from this new legal structure will have to prosecute all those who have committed crimes under this government. There can be no amnesty law. If the truth does not come out, there can be no reconciliation. We believe that democracy is the free exercise of sovereignty by the people, first to determine what institutional regime will govern them, and second to elect their officials. The new institutional framework will have to provide for unrestricted respect for human rights. Anti-democratic behavior will have to be considered a crime under the law . . . As for property ownership, there will be a state area, primarily with the strategic enterprises (oil, copper, electricity), a mixed area, and a private area where small and medium-sized businesses can develop, and where the organization of cooperatives is fomented. To do away with unemployment, priority must be given to those businesses which employ the maximum number of people. Not only must we look at efficiency or technical factors here, but we must also look at the priorities shaped by the catastrophe that has befallen this country. Social justice and solidarity must be present in the development of any future economic system for the country.

Sanfuentes: We hope that a provisional democratic system will be created to implement the full observance of human rights in the country, even for those who have failed to respect them during the past 13 years. This implies Truth, Justice, and Punishment for the crimes committed against Chileans during these years. We see this within the framework of the norms to be laid down by the new democratic regime.

The provisional democratic government will have to convene a constituent assembly to draw up a new political constitution. It will have to institute all civic and political freedoms in the country. And finally, it must immediately pursue an emergency plan, first seeking a solution to unemployment, housing, health, and education, and then incorporating a plan to solve the devastating problems that plague most of the nation's business sector.

We also believe that the justice system must be democratized, and that laws designed to eradicate the despotic doctrine of National Security must be reenacted in Chile. This implies the democratization of the Armed Forces. The soldier must be a citizen, and therefore must have the right to vote.

In the economic sphere, we favor nonpayment of the foreign debt for 10 years. The banks and the key industries of the country should be nationalized. And, naturally, we advocate the promotion of an area of state ownership, a mixed ownership area, and although you may not believe it, the development of private ownership, on the small and medium scales.

8926
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CHILE

CLUSTER BOMB SHIPMENT REPORTEDLY LOADED ONTO IRAQI AIRCRAFT

Santiago HOY in Spanish 28 Apr 86 pp 22-24

[Text] Mr Janabi, the pilot of the Iraq Airways Boeing 747 on flight IA-521, took off from Bagdad one Tuesday in March bound for Rio de Janeiro. It was a commercial passenger flight with a known itinerary. Everything normal. The aircraft underwent a change in the Brazilian city.

As his colleagues Garabet and Saudi had done on other occasions, the pilot took off again, crossed Brazil, traversed the Andes, flew over Santiago and landed on the main runway at Pudahuel Airport. As usual, the plane arrived at night: at 2029 hours on Wednesday the 5th, at 1955 hours on the 12th, at 2354 hours on the 20th and at 2333 hours on the last Wednesday in March.

On its first three trips the Boeing spent no more than 2 hours on the airport runway. Only on its last flight did it stay longer. The fleet of trucks that was transporting the valuable cargo apparently had some trouble. An informant said in confidence: "They were big trucks, and I noticed some license plates: CB-6913-3, FN-2447-6, HV-3109-2. Of course I didn't know what they were carrying. I think they came from the north."

The flight left with no passengers aboard (only once did two persons get on) and with a crew of 12. Its destination was unknown. It might have returned to Rio de Janeiro, unloaded its cargo and become a normal plane again for flight IA-522. Origin: Brazil. Destination: Iraq. Or else it might have crossed the Atlantic bound for other latitudes.

HOY's many calls to the General Office of Aeronautics (eight calls to as many telephones) got only this response from someone who declined to identify himself: "Yes, I know what aircraft you're talking about. It arrived every Wednesday in March and in April too, I think. It's true it came at night, but once by day. Now, I don't know what it came for and I don't know what it was carrying."

The odd thing is that the General Directorate of Transportation, which controls arms exports under the Arms and Explosives Control Law, reportedly did not authorize the export of cluster bombs in March.

Cluster bombs are a quiet, nighttime, multimillion dollar business. The Chilean companies in this field, Cardoen and Ferrimar, are competing fiercely for the top spot in Chile and for predominance on world markets. The same source explained: "A packaged bomb weighs about 300 kilograms, and they sell them for $12,000 or $14,000, although here in Chile, because of the competition, there is talk of lower prices. In four flights a Boeing 747 could carry almost 1,000. Figure it out."

Carlos Cardoen Cornejo and Aldo Pesce Frings, who owns Ferrimar, are not the only ones who have figured it out; their closest collaborators have too. Guido Baselli (HOY, No 450), for example, a designer of plastics and dies, started working for Ferrimar in August 1985. The working relationship ended so abruptly that Baselli has just brought suit against the company for nonpayment for his services and for unauthorized use of the improvements that he made in the casing of the "wasp" bomb.

The designer asserts that he introduced many innovations: covering the casing with a polyester resin, incorporating the tail, eliminating the rivets and metal parts. In his improved version the detonating cords are not attached inside of the casing through hatches but are built into the wall of the bomb.

Bombs designed by Baselli were manufactured at the Cartagena plant near San Antonio and later at 757 Coquimbo Street in the capital (this site was closed down by the Santiago city government as an "unauthorized line of business"). In his suit he claims that he managed to build more than 600 and that the final contract was for 9,400. He is demanding more than 70 million pesos from Ferrimar.

Baselli's suit against Ferrimar is valuable in another way. His familiarity with the "wasp" could resolve a longstanding suit that Cardoen has against Ferrimar over the similarity or difference between the cluster bombs that the two companies produce. In this regard, on Thursday the 24th in a majority decision (three to two) the Second Division of the Supreme Court decided that the expert appraisal would be conducted by the Investigations criminal laboratory. The court ruled in favor of Cardoen, who challenged the first expert, the Army Testing Agency, because of the links between it, Army Ordnance and Ferrimar.

The Plastic Tip

The problems facing Carlos Cardoen's company came from elsewhere, however. HOY has learned that a last-minute compromise prevented a former collaborator, first in the United States and later in Chile, from filing suit against him for nonpayment of more than $800,000 in services.

He could not, however, stop the suit that Enrique Matthei Aubel, the brother of the commander in chief of the Chilean Air Force, filed against him in 14th Criminal Court. Attorney Alberto Sifri explained that "this is a suit claiming fraud for the unauthorized use by the Cardoen company of a product that Carlos Padilla patented and that was later acquired by Enrique Matthei."

The product is an "improved device for hollow-charge projectiles," a very useful plastic tip for the bomblets, the small bombs inside the cluster bomb. Unlike the traditional iron or aluminum tip, which offers greater resistance to the explosive charge carried by the bomblets inside, the plastic tip offers minimal resistance, which makes for a complete explosion without the wear and tear entailed in dissolving the iron or aluminum. Moreover, it is attached by pressure, not screwed on. Cardoen's problem with Matthei began at the offices of Carlos Schurmann, the company's general manager. It was a tense meeting with two lawyers on each side. A source related the details: "Cardoen's lawyers began talking about an anonymous phone call that Maria Angelica Delano de Cardoen allegedly received. The mysterious voice threatened and tried to blackmail her, saying that 'if you don't pay the patent rights, your husband will wind up in jail.' Cardoen's attorneys also accused Matthei of asking for $4 million to release the patent."

Matthei therefore filed suit, and a few days later, in Fifth Criminal Court, Cardoen filed a countersuit against Matthei, his son Jorge (a former Cardoen employee) and Carlos Padilla "for the crime of fraud."

Alberto Sifri voiced this opinion: "Why is Cardoen filing suit 3 years after the invention was patented and after our suit? His claims are completely untrue. Matthei never asked for $4 million for the patent; the Cardoen company made that up to divert attention from the facts."

8743
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CHILE

GOVERNMENT UNEMPLOYMENT FIGURES SAID TO BE DISTORTED

Santiago MENSAJE in Spanish No 348, May 86 pp 146-148

[Article by Esteban Jadresic]

[Text] In 1985 the overt unemployment rate for the nation rose to 14 percent, or 22 percent if the special employment programs were included (the Minimum Employment Program, PEM, and the Projects Program for Heads of Household, POJH). These figures are still far from what could be considered normal, about 6 percent. But they do represent an improvement over the situation during the nadir of the crisis. In fact, in late 1982 and early 1983, the overt unemployment rate was about 20 percent, and exceeded 30 percent with the inclusion of the special programs for the unemployed.

An important factor in the decline in jobless figures is the larger number of productive jobs generated by the partial recovery of economic activity in the last 2 years. This explains only part of the phenomenon, however. Available background data indicate that at the same time, there has been a substantial increase in underemployment, which has also driven down unemployment figures. In addition, these data show an increase in covert joblessness. Given that any consideration of these factors has been absent from some sectors' evaluations of the development of employment and unemployment in the last 2 years, it is worthwhile to examine them in more detail. Analysis reveals that these evaluations have succumbed to excessive optimism or exaggeration of the improvement.

Rise in Underemployment

The polls indicate that in the past 2 years, about a half million new jobs have been created (excluding the changes in the number of people signed up with the PEM and the POJH, programs which were cut back substantially through administrative measures taken by the authorities). This figure is considerable for an economy with a work force of about 4 million people. It means that in 1985 the number of employed workers (outside the special employment programs) was even higher than the corresponding figure for 1981, before the crisis set in. And this is in spite of the rather depressed level of economic activity (the estimated GDP for 1985 is between 7 and 8 percent lower than in 1981).

These questions come to mind: What kinds of job have been created? How can they be compared with those that were lost during the decline? And in net terms, are there significant differences in the quality of the 1985 jobs, compared to those of 1981? Some background information to provide general answers can be seen in Table 1.

It can be seen that nearly half the jobs created during the recovery correspond to the commerce and services sectors (48 percent). This means that there has been some asymmetry with respect to what happened during the decline, when the two sectors accounted for only 31 percent of the overall drop in employment (if the data from the University of Chile Economics Department are used, the result is very similar). In net terms, during the full cycle there has been a positive balance in commerce and services employment, and a negative one in the remaining sectors.

The most suggestive results, however, appear when we look at what happened to average job productivity. In fact, it is clear that while the sectors other than commerce and services yielded a higher average productivity rate in 1985 than in 1981, average productivity was substantially lower (20.6 percent) in the commerce and service sectors. This indicates that while the partial recovery of employment in the other sectors can be fully explained by the recovery of economic activity on certain levels, in commerce and services the increase in employment has been made possible by a reduction of the productive value added contributed by each employed person.

This point is very significant. By nature, commerce and services are the sectors best able to hide a problem of massive unemployment. Included in these sectors, in addition to business managers and public employees, are vendors who sell candy on the streets, people who guard cars for their owners, and in general, a large number of marginal, low-paying jobs that yield little or no productivity, but are nonetheless classified as occupations in the surveys. The fact that the average productivity in these sectors was much lower in 1985 than in 1981, in contrast to the other sectors where it was the same or higher, strongly suggests that a notable increase in underemployment has taken place. It can be calculated that if average job productivity in commerce and services had been at the same level in 1985 as before the crisis, in relation to the level of production achieved, then the level of associated employment would have been lower by some 300,000 jobs. If this figure were added to the number of jobless workers, the unemployment rates for 1985 would rise by more than 7 percentage points.

In the case of the commerce sector, the rise in underemployment can be seen in the results of the surveys conducted by the National Institute of Statistics (INE), by examining the trends in the number of people working "for themselves" or as "unpaid relatives." According to the figures, between the last quarter of 1982 and the last quarter of 1984, no less than 67,000 jobs were created in these categories in this sector (45,000 self-employed and 22,000 unpaid relatives). It is not unreasonable to suspect the quality of these new "jobs." In the services sector, on the other hand, the lack of adequate information makes it impossible to identify the occupational categories in which employment is growing (because in the polls there is no distinction between those enrolled in the PEM and the POJH, and other workers, which makes analysis difficult). However, the information analyzed here seems to support the conclusion that, as in commerce, there has been a significant rise in underemployment in this sector as well.

Table 1

Decline and Recovery of Employment and Average Productivity: 1981-85
(figures for the second quarter of each year)

Sector	Change in Employment (number of people)		Average Job Productivity (base 1981 = 100)	
	Decline 1981-83	Recovery 1983-85	1981	1985
Commerce and Services	-134,000	238,000	100	79.4
Others	-305,000	258,000	100	106.1
Total	-439,000	496,000	100	91.9

Note: Employment figures exclude PEM and POJH programs.

Source: 1) Employment figures estimated on the basis of data from the INE and the Latin American Center for Demography (CELADE). 2) GDP figures for the calculation of average productivity: Corporation of Economic Research for Latin America (CIEPLAN), preliminary estimates (official figures are not yet available).

What factors could explain this phenomenon?

Two, in our opinion, are of particular importance. On the one hand, after prolonged periods of unemployment, many individuals and households affected by this tragedy have probably been forced to resort to marginal activities. On the other hand, significant pressure has been exerted by the administrative measures taken by the authorities to reduce the number of people admitted to the special employment programs since 1983. The partial reduction or total elimination of the income that many families relied upon to alleviate the joblessness problem has also promoted the development of such activities.

It should be noted that a total of nearly 180,000 jobs were cut from the PEM and POJH programs between 1983 and 1985. This happened in spite of an increse in the number of people enrolled in the POJH, which is explained by the drastic cutback in the PEM, amounting to 207,000 jobs during that period (part of this reduction took place in January 1984, when 60,000 people were taken off the program's rolls because of a drastic measure taken at the time by the authorities of the Metropolitan Region in response to the protests in late 1983).

Paradoxically, to the extent that it exerted increasing pressure on households to carry out marginal activities, that PEM cutback was perhaps one of the most effective measures taken by the authorities to boost "employment" (from a statistical point of view).

Increase in Covert Unemployment

There is one other phenomenon that the lower unemployment figures do not reflect, however, and that is the aggravation in recent times of what economists call "covert unemployment."

According to the surveys, only those people interviewed who are out of work but have made "definite efforts" to find a job or who have "actively sought" work are unemployed. The University of Chile surveys refer to the week prior to the interview when obtaining this information, while the INE studies ask about the 2 months before the interview. The problem of covert unemployment is that in practice, a large number of people are definitely interested in working but have not made any specific effort to look for a job; therefore, they are not counted as unemployed, but rather as inactive. The classic case is that of the "discouraged worker," who does not seek work because he has already gotten tired of a fruitless search.

According to the data provided by the University of Chile, the number of people classified in the surveys as inactive but who express a desire to work has grown substantially. Since March 1984, nearly 15 percent of the people outside the labor force expressed a desire to work, while the habitual figures for previous years had ranged between 10 and 11 percent. In absolute terms, between March 1983 and March 1985, 194,000 people were added to this category. Of those individuals, 154,000 belonged to the group that wanted to work more than 20 hours a week.

Although the labor force measured in the surveys has not grown any more slowly in the last 2 years than in previous years, so that the above statement could not be interpreted as a massive shift from the unemployed to the inactive group, this phenomenon is still important. With regard to previous years, proportionally more people of working age now desire to work.

This fact could be attributable to various reasons, for example, the same reasons cited above to explain the problem of increased underemployment. The important point, however, is that the unemployment figures do not reflect this fact. For example, if the 154,000 newly classified inactive workers who want to work more than 20 hours a week were considered unemployed, the drop in the jobless rate between March 1983 and March 1985 would have been 3 to 4 percentage points less. This amount is hardly negligible.

Conclusion

In sum, the consideration of both underemployment and covert unemployment indicates that behind the decline in the jobless rate observed in the last 2 years lies a concealed exacerbation of these two phenomena. Therefore, although the increase in the level of economic activity implied a significant rise in employment, since 1984 the official employment and unemployment figures have presented a distorted view of the real dimensions of this improvement. Thus, the relative optimism some sectors have expressed about the most recent employment and unemployment statistics is unjustified.

The above considerations, along with the fact that the prospects for growth are not very favorable in terms of improving the unemployment situation (in the best of cases, the current situation is expected to stagnate), indicate that much, much work still remains to be done, both to reactivate the economy as a whole and to pursue direct and indirect policies of boosting employment and compensating for unemployment.

8926
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CHILE

COCHILCO PRESIDENT ANALYZES PROSPECTS FOR COPPER INDUSTRY

Santiago ERCILLA in Spanish 23 Apr 86 pp 15-17

[Interview with Patricio Jarpa, executive vice-president of the Chilean Copper Commission; author, date, time, and place not given]

[Text] He began his career in copper mining in 1955, when the Department of Copper was founded. In 1969 he was the first Chilean to be named sales manager of a company in the large-scale copper mining sector, a post he held until 1971. During the next 15 years, he headed a private firm specializing in consulting on the marketing of metals and raw materials. Just over a month ago, Patricio Jarpa Yanez (58, married, two children) returned to the public sector, this time as executive vice-president of the Chilean Copper Commission (COCHILCO).

Patricio Jarpa, who was a member of the Chilean delegation that participated in the formation of the Intergovernmental Council of Copper Exporting Countries (CIPEC) in 1967, is assuming his new position at a rather special time.

COCHILCO celebrated its 10th anniversary on 1 April, and is about to implement a restructuring plan aimed at making it the leading agency in setting national mining policy. In addition, the price of the red metal is still undergoing a depressed period, to such an extent that in recent years and so far this year, its real value has been at the lowest level since 1950. This situation has a direct impact on the balance of trade, to which copper exports contributed 46.6 percent of foreign currency returns in 1985. Patricio Jarpa talked with ERCILLA about these and other issues.

[Question] At present, the price of copper is one of the lowest in 50 years. What can be done to cure this illness?

[Answer] One hears remedies, all of them possibly very well-intentioned, that might have been reasonable 30 years ago. But today they may have no effect, or actually be counterproductive.

[Question] Why?

[Answer] The structure of the market has changed completely. In 1950, 75 percent of the production coming out of the world's copper mines was in the hands of the private sector; in 1948, 60 percent of all production was in the hands of just 5 companies. The private sector was in absolute control. Today, in contrast, more than 60 percent is in the hands of the states.

[Question] And what is the implication of that?

[Answer] When the private sector had everything in its hands, the company had a 100 percent interest in the business, regardless of its nationality. When the state took over, other variables came into play, such as domestic investment, social investment, foreign currency earnings, foreign debt, etc.

Another factor is that the copper sector was characterized by vertical integration in the 1950s. From mine production to terminal market, practically everything was in the same hands, and two things happened: Any adjustment measure reached the market very quickly, because it went through the same hands; in addition, these firms, which were holding both ends of the skein, had a very strong interest in preventing substitution. They made a very serious effort at all levels to promote new uses of copper.

[Question] What is the situation today with regard to the promotion of new uses of copper?

[Answer] We have resumed these efforts. The countries finally realized that this was an area that could no longer be left to chance.

[Question] How has the technological progress experienced by the industry in recent decades affected the use of alternatives to copper?

[Answer] Not only has it meant the introduction of aluminum in fields that used to be within the purview of copper, such as electricity transmission lines and radiators in the transportation sector, but technological advances have introduced the use of fiber optics, plastic, and certain types of galvanized steel. Plus there is the "novelty of the year," miniaturization. We should add that the electrification infrastructure sector has begun to become somewhat saturated, primarily in the more developed countries. Finally, there is the use of ceramics in the automotive industry and in mechanical construction. These factors have changed the structure of the copper market.

[Question] In this context, what are the priority tasks in the copper sector?

[Answer] The efforts to stimulate demand . . . And how is that achieved? Of course, by trying to defend the market for traditional uses, and promoting new applications of copper. In that regard, the following statistic is interesting: In 1985, a single producer of aluminum, the largest one, invested $117 million in defending a promoting new uses of that product. The eight member states of the Intergovernmental Council of Copper Exporting Countries invested $850,000.

[Question] Are the CIPEC countries keeping pace?

[Answer] Now they are finally reacting. CODELCO and other local producers and large foreign consumers are making efforts and contributing to the cause jointly, investing some $8 million to $10 million in promotion and studies for 1986.

Marketing

[Question] In the meantime, while these investigations are bearing fruit, what is Chile doing in the area of marketing, to bring the price of the metal back up?

[Answer] The price is merely the result of a supply-demand ratio, with relatively more inventories or stocks. Consumption rose at a rate of 0.62 percent between 1976 and 1985, while production grew by 0.66 percent during that decade. There is almost a balance. The increase in consumption between 1956 and 1965, however, was 5.6 percent, while that of production was 4.79 percent.

[Question] What is the status of inventories?

[Answer] All the inventories of producers, manufacturers, exchanges and traders combined have declined considerably since 1983, but not enough yet. Total inventories as of December 1985 amounted to 1.1 million tons.

[Question] What factors have influenced this sharp decline, and why has the price of the metal nevertheless not climbed?

[Answer] The market absorbs all these changes far in advance. Three weeks ago there was a strike at the Central Peruvian Mining Enterprise (CENTROMIN), and nothing happened; then the London Exchange was on the verge of collapse because of the tin crisis, and nothing happened, absolutely nothing. A 10,000-ton drop in inventories came as announced, and nothing happened either.

[Question] Maybe the price of copper is immutable?

[Answer] It appears that the price will react only if a prolonged situation occurs, such as the threatened strike in the United States, for example; their labor contracts expire on 30 June. At this time I see no market-related reasons to expect that the price will rise substantially in the short term, unless the possible strike in the United States hampers supplies for a long time.

[Question] On the supply side, aren't there tools that could favor an increase in the price of copper?

[Answer] Many people believe that an agreement among producers could improve the situation. What is happening to those agreements in other raw materials? Oil went crazy for a while, but now it is total chaos; the same goes for tin; rubber is in a very critical situation now; coffee is operating on the basis of export restrictions, which forced producers to store large amounts of the product, and when they put it on the market, no one knows what will happen to the price; the cacao agreement is suffering from the absence of the principal producer, Ivory Coast; the sugar agreement is also based on export quotas, and has not managed to stop the freefall of prices. A study conducted by the Union of Swiss Banks in January of this year points out that "in general, it should be noted that international agreements have very little influence on price trends."

[Question] In this regard, what has CIPEC's experience been? Between 1974 and 1976 it employed a tactic of cutting production and exports . . .

[Answer] In 1974 it agreed to cut exports by 10 percent. Since this did not work, the following year it agreed to reduce exports and production by 15 percent. That did not yield results either, and was unable to stop prices from falling, so in 1976 the system was abandoned. Furthermore, in August 1966, we set a price of 70 centavos (in the currency of the time) for Chilean producers to charge. That lasted 3 weeks, because we set the price and prices on the exchanges fell. Consumers began to cut their options, which forced us to conclude rapidly that the price charged by Chilean producers would be the price quoted on the London Exchange. We finally ended up going to the market.

[Question] What would happen today if you returned to a collective effort by CIPEC, as happened 12 years ago?

[Answer] Setting prices is not one of CIPEC's objectives. That would mean establishing a special fund and creating an agency to regulate it, which is not among CIPEC's objectives. Nor is participating as such on the metal exchanges.

[Question] But it has recommended that the member states do participate . . .

[Answer] Indeed. It has recommended that they act with great discretion and at the right times . . .

[Question] . . . and Chile has opted for this formula . . .

[Answer] That is specifically included in our policy, and we are taking action. National producers are proceeding wisely and prudently, and quite effectively.

[Question] But some criticize the national marketing policy, saying it would be better to cut production. What is your response to that?

[Answer] The only ones who would be harmed by that would be we Chileans. At this time the world has an idle production capacity of 900,000 tons of refined copper, due specifically to the decline in the price of the metal. The high-cost firms have graduallly shut down, some for good and others temporarily. The latter will start up again if prices become more attractive. Meanwhile, technology has also worked to their benefit, and they continue to study ways to bring down costs. When they return to the market, they will be in a more competitive position.

[Question] Have new protectionist initiatives by the Americans been detected?

[Answer] Whenever this market situation prevails, the sector involved tries to obtain protection. So far many attempts have failed, but this does not mean that we should not expect others. We are quite attentive and active in terms of being able to prevent this kind of development. I think that the American consumers themselves are our greatest allies in this regard.

[Question] During the last few years, the destinations of Chilean copper exports have changed somewhat, especially with respect to the American market. Are we having problems marketing our mineral, or not?

[Answer] For every pound of copper that the developed world needs, five pounds are needed by the developing world. We have to look to that world, which needs a wide range of products and goods in which copper is an ingredient. The market of the future lies in the developing world, and Chile has oriented its sales strategy in that direction. We are increasing our sales on Asian markets, and we are negotiating better freight terms, etc., so that we will be in a good competitive position.

[Question] How can the government's copper policy be summed up?

[Answer] Maintain production levels; study and develop any profitable project that means boosting production, in order to be able to meet future demand; improve productivity; stimulate demand, assuring the consumer of supply, quality, and responsibility in fulfilling contracts; promote and develop new uses of copper; promote greater development of local industry so as to incorporate more manpower not only in the terminal industry, but also in smelting, refining, etc.; promote and stimulate foreign investment in the sector; employ all available means to prevent protectionism; revise marketing systems and constantly update them so that the resources of the market can be used to optimize results; and finally, strengthen ties with the principal consumers and producers in order to arrive at joint actions to defend the copper industry.

[Question] Pursuant to its restructuring, what role will the Chilean Copper Commission play in the context of the aforementioned principles?

[Answer] The bill is designed to strengthen COCHILCO's position as a specialized, technical and professional organization, so that it can advise the government on the formulation of development policies. This bill extends the action that has been taken to date in the field of copper, as well as the mining of metals and nonmetals.

[Question] Will it intervene in marketing at all?

[Answer] The marketing of copper and its byproducts is carried out by the producing companies. They implement their own sales strategies. This strategy and this implementation of bargaining techniques do have to be developed within the overall policy dictated by the government, on the initiative of the commission and within the general contract terms set forth by the Chilean Copper Commission. We must look not only at the present, but from the perspective of the present we must also develop what is appropriate for the future of the industry.

[Question] What is the current status of the La Escondida project?

[Answer] It has a price tag of about $1.5 billion, and should generate some 700,000 metric tons of high-quality copper concentrate. I have been meeting in the past few days with executives from foreign investment firms. This year they are in the process of negotiating future production so that the necessary financing can be obtained. If everything goes all right, it is possible that before the end of the year we will have final decisions on beginning specific actions to carry out the investments.

8926
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CHILE

INSTALLATION OF IMPORTANT METHANOL PLANT BEGINS

Santiago ERCILLA in Spanish 23 Apr 86 p 18

[Article by Rosario Alvarez P.]

[Text] Punta Arenas--The sunshine provided an appropriate climate of optimism for the ceremony to lay the cornerstone of the methanol plant in Cabo Negro, 25 kilometers from Punta Arenas, last Wednesday 16 April.

As the executive of Cape Horn Methanol Ltd., David Summer, confessed the night before during the gala dinner, the negotiations to carry out this foreign investment project were difficult, though always cordial. Using an anecdote ("we've already had four parties to celebrate the beginning of the project; we hope this is the last one"), Summer thanked all those who made it possible to install the plant, which will be the most important one in the West.

Methanol, a derivative of natural gas, is used as a high octane additive in gasoline, with the advantage that it does not pollute because it replaces lead. Other uses are as a binding material for wood, and as an ingredient in chemicals for the textile industry, pharmaceutical products, paints and solvents, plastics, herbicides, and synthetic fibers. The Cabo Negro plant will produce about 750,000 tons of methanol a year, and the contract calls for it to operate for 20 years beginning in 1988. Construction should be completed by that time.

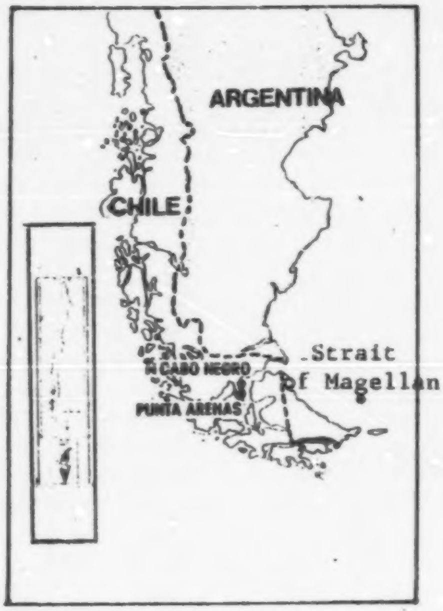
There are only two methanol plants larger than this one in the whole world: in the Soviet Union and East Germany. The primary markets for this natural gas derivative are in the United States, Europe, and Japan.

The total investment in the plant is $300 million, of which 80 percent comes from one of the largest American firms, Allied-Signal. The Hanley Group is also contributing funds; 10 percent comes from the Paper and Cardboard Manufacturing Company; 8 percent from the International Financial Corporation; and the remaining 2 percent from the Methanol Investment Corporation Ltd. (that is, the Menendez community, which represents one of the pioneer families in Punta Arenas and Region XII).

It is estimated that Chile will earn some $3 million from sales and taxes out of the total earnings of $6 billion the plant is expected to generate over the next 22 years. As for labor, during peak periods about 1,000 people will be employed at the plant; on the average, there will be about 500 employees.

During the foundation-laying ceremony, Mining Minister Samuel Lira emphasized that the methanol project is "one more example of the confidence that our country generates." The intendent of Region XII, Gen Luis Danus, added that "the construction of this plant clearly disproves those assertions that Chile is isolated."

Finally, summing up the events that led to this foreign investment project (the most important in recent years), the general manager of Cape Horn Methanol, Eduardo Matte, recalled that "there are people who see things the way they are and ask 'why?'; there are others who imagine things the way they could be and ask 'why not?'. In this second group of visionaries and entrepreneurs are those who participated in the germination and development of this great idea."



Twenty-five kilometers from Punta Arenas the largest methanol plant in the West is beginning to take shape.

8926
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MEXICO

CONTROVERSY ENVELOPS ISSUE OF GOVERNMENT FOOD SUBSIDIES

Key 29 April Statement

Mexico City PROCESO in Spanish No 497 12 May 86 pp 27-28

[Text] While some sectors fear that the government will gradually liquidate the National Company for Basic Commodities [CONASUPO], owing to the economic crisis that the country is experiencing, the agency's director, Jorge Ernesto Costemalle, was of the opinion that the lack of its presence would disorganize markets, increase prices, multiply speculation, exacerbate inequality, and cause the social and political unrest to heighten the nation's economic attrition.

For these reasons, he countered the confusion generated by Commerce Secretary Hector Hernandez Cervantes, who has steadily called for the elimination of subsidies for staple foods, which are one of CONASUPO's main functions.

At a press conference on Thursday, 8 May, Costemalle tried to convince the public that CONASUPO will not disappear nor become privatized. He made it clear that its existence is essential for preventing social eruptions; and hence it needs to be strengthened, in order to give the country and its government greater effectiveness.

The uneasiness regarding CONASUPO's future began on 29 April, when Costemalle submitted his report to the Administrative Council of the agency. In the document that he submitted, he said that the policy to be followed consisted of not continuing to subsidize oils and equipment for milk, egg, and meat production. He explained that the wheat subsidy would be totally eliminated as of the second half of this year, and that the one for corn would be streamlined in order to serve the more needy classes.

But the problem appeared when President Miguel de la Madrid, in turn, declared: "In the extent to which the market mechanisms can efficiently perform their functions, to that extent, the function of CONASUPO will become less necessary."

Fear became widespread among the sectors favoring the government's participation in social marketing, because of the fact that, 2 days later, Commerce Secretary Hector Hernandez Cervantes said that a study was being made of also removing the subsidy for public transportation in Mexico City, while at the same time coming out in favor of a price decontrol.

These statements prompted the representatives of the opposition parties (even PAN [National Action Party]) on Wednesday, 7 May, in the Chamber of Deputies, to attack that policy damaging the low-income economy. The debate, which lasted over an hour, was marked by the statement made even by Senator Gonzalez Martinez Corbala, that no one wants a weakened CONASUPO, and no one wants to make improper use of subsidies.

Deputy Marcela Gonzalez Salas, of PRI [Institutional Revolutionary Party], in turn, explained that the government is "clarifying" the subsidies so that they may effectively discharge their function for the people's benefit, and not give advantages only to hoarders and groups of opportunists. She noted nothing is further removed from the revolutionary plan than the intention of eliminating any of the gains that the people have made by their labor.

But she was not convincing. Hence, the Standing Commission gave approval for the Commerce Commission of the Chamber of Deputies to summon the CONASUPO director to explain the decisions recently made by the federal government on this agency's operation.

A day later, Jose Ernesto Costemalle opted to hold a press conference in order to dispel doubts about the agency that he heads.

But he did not dispel them, and succumbed to contradictions again. What he said did not at all coincide with the content of his work report. And he learned of the population's fear that the government is planning CONASUPO's "requiem," because, while he was talking with reporters, outside the agency's offices members of the National Urban and Popular Movement Coordinating Board (CONAMUP) were persistently shouting, "we don't want goals, we want beans!"

Costemalle admitted that the treasury backing to CONASUPO has been cut by over 50 percent, in real terms, over the past 4 years, and that, in 1986, over 80 percent of the company's budget (which was originally 587 billion pesos) will be directed toward payment of the service on its foreign debt, which amounts to $1.336 billion.

Nevertheless, he explained that the Secretariat of Finance and Public Credit will absorb the commitment to pay this debt, and thus, the parastate enterprise will operate with its own funds which, from its branches alone, will total 1.3 trillion pesos this year.

Losses in Buying Power Described

Mexico City PUNTO in Spanish 12 May 86 p 9

[Text] The report submitted by the general director of CONASUPO to its Administrative Board, read in the presence of the president of the republic, triggered an avalanche of pressure to bear on behalf of the gradual elimination of that system of public enterprises.

The publication of a few sentences (taken out of context) from the speech delivered by the president of the republic at that meeting, as well as the distortion of the statements made by the head of CONASUPO, heightened the rumors of the possible abolishment of that parastate enterprise.

In his report, the director of CONASUPO, Jose Ernesto Costemalle, announced the stoppage of the wheat subsidy, as well as the decision not to renew the subsidies for oils and equipment for milk, egg, and meat production.

However, some capital newspapers distorted those statements and claimed that the branches of CONASUPO might disappear as a result of the removal of the milk, egg, and wheat subsidies.

Nevertheless, except for wheat and corn, the subsidy for the other staple products had already been stopped over 2 years ago. Furthermore, added to the arguments about the possible disappearance of CONASUPO, was the publication of a sentence from the president of the republic (taken out of the context of his speech) delivered during the meeting: "...In the extent to which the market mechanisms can efficiently perform their functions, to that extent, the function of CONASUPO will become less necessary."

This sentence makes sense with the two paragraphs between which it occurred: "CONASUPO's regulating function in the basic supplies market is of fundamental importance. I think that the considerations that were taken to establish CONASUPO and its predecessor entities are still effective, to a large degree. There are still inadequacies or flaws in the market mechanism that require the government's regulating intervention."

And the following paragraph: "The government of the republic is not an enemy of the market mechanisms, but it is not a fan, either. We know that, in a society such as ours, still underdeveloped in many aspects of its economic structure, the market requires suitable intervention and regulation by the government for the benefit and protection of the society."

The "disinformation" and pressure against the parastate enterprise became so severe that they forced the CONASUPO director to call a press conference last Thursday.

Meanwhile, despite the fact that the Secretariat of Commerce and Industrial Development had announced that it would continue to control prices of staple products, and despite the stoppage of the subsidy for corn and tortillas, it is not yet known in that department what the impact of that stoppage will be on white bread price increases.

Even though the removal of the wheat subsidy will not occur until this July, in several white bread establishments it is already being priced at 16 pesos (double the official price).

According to research conducted by the Mexican Association for Consumer Protection Studies, Inc, the two foods which recently lost the subsidy (tortillas and white bread) constitute items the higher prices of which have most drastically affected the economy of the workers, in comparison with the other products in the so-called basic food basket.

That association's studies indicate that, during the last 4 years, whereas the minimum wage rose only 3.5 times, the price of tortillas increased 21 times; that of white bread, 15; that of sugar, 10; and those of milk, oil, beans, and rice, from five to six times.

The stoppage of subsidies for staple products, as well as the constant price hikes for them, apart from CONASUPO, has caused major changes in the diet of Mexicans.

A study recently made by the National Consumer Institute [INCO] which, for a year, watched the changes in the diet of 221 families, disclosed that the low income strata have gradually replaced milk with coffee or tea, meat with beans and, to a lesser extent, with eggs, and, finally, rice with pasta.

Despite the official control of prices of basic products and the "direct subsidy for consumers" program carried out through the CONASUPO system, the nutritional deterioration among Mexican families is still worsening. In the case of milk, for example, the National Food Program (PRONAL) estimates that, at present, nearly 40 percent of the population does not consume milk, another 15 percent does so occasionally, and the rest, particularly the families with incomes exceeding three minimum wages, consume it regularly.

The loss of purchasing power is such that, based on data from the Bank of Mexico and research conducted by economists in the Confederation of Mexican Workers, the minimum wage is currently sufficient only to purchase 50 percent of the basic food basket, according to reports submitted by Javier Pineda, labor secretary of that workers' confederation.

The decline in purchasing power has not only entailed changes in the workers' diet, but has also forced the low income families to multiply their work days and even to work outside work centers. The INCO study indicates that most of the families polled with up to twice the minimum wage had to resort to working overtime, preparing products at home, rendering domestic services, and, possibly, engaging in the sale of various products such as clothing and beauty items.

Nevertheless, the ratio between the minimum wage and the prices of basic products does not seem to be an accurate indicator of what is happening to the real consumption of Mexican workers' families. According to the Center for Trade Union and Labor Studies, most of the workers in Mexico are not earning the minimum wage (13.5 million, which is equivalent to 61 percent); 21 percent of the economically active population earns only the minimum wage (4.62 million); and only 18 percent earn a wage exceeding 1,650 pesos per day (3.96 million).

In other words, according to data from the Confederation of Mexican Workers [CTM] and the Labor Congress, 80 percent of the economically active population earns from one to two minimum wages; 10 percent, from three to 10 times the minimum wage; and the other 10 percent holds most of the national wealth.

Similarly, according to data from the Bank of Mexico, on the average, Mexican families consisting of five members must currently allocate nearly 70 percent of their income just to be able to purchase the Recommended Basic Food Basket (CBR); whereas in 1982 they only had to use 46 percent.

During the last administration (from 1983 to the end of 1985), the wage's purchasing power fell to its lowest level in the past 15 years. During this period, the minimum wage increased 3,806 percent; while prices of basic foods, such as bread, milk, eggs, etc. , rose 5,000 percent.

And while the talks continue to set the new minimum wage, in an internal study from the Workers Technical Advisory Office of the National Minimum Wage Commission (CNSM) it is claimed that, in order to be able to compensate for the purchasing power that the minimum wage has lost since the beginning of this administration, the new wage would have to be 3,184 pesos per day.

The removal of the subsidies for corn and wheat which, consequently, will affect the rising prices of bread and tortillas, according to an adviser from the National Minimum Wage Commission, is not going to be taken into consideration in the negotiations for setting the minimum wage, "because the Labor Congress agreed to implement a plan for the distribution of bonuses to workers who earn up to twice the minimum wage, so that they may continue to purchase these products at the current price."

Nevertheless, he admitted that, with the elimination of the subsidies, over 12 million families of workers who are not organized will be hurt by that measure.

New White Bread Prices

Mexico City LA JORNADA in Spanish 15 May 86 p 11

[Text] The Secretariat of Commerce and Industrial Development (SECOFI) has authorized an increase in the price of white bread ("bolillo" and "telera" [rolls]) of 137.5 percent, and since yesterday a 70-gram piece has cost 19 pesos, instead of the 8 pesos that it was worth on 30 December of last year.

The hike is a result of the removal of the subsidy for wheat flour delivered to bakers, which had been estimated at 40 billion pesos this year.

The rise in the price of white bread was not publicly announced by the Secretariat, but there was a report of the decision to industrialists in 11 bakeries, which changed the price of "bolillos" and "teleras" yesterday. SECOFI's general price bureau confirmed to this newspaper the report on the authorization of the popular bread price hike.

Sources from the Secretariat noted that, hence, the new cost will be official, and any change in it will be penalized by the SECOFI authorities. They remarked that its price elsewhere in the country will be dependent on the production costs of the main components, such as flour, fuel, electricity, and other items; because the prices and rates for goods and services in the public sector are different in the national territory, such as the price of wheat flour, which will cost less in the producing regions than in the states to which it must be brought, entailing additional costs for transportation, storage, waste, and others, which will be passed on to the consumer.

Without a subsidy, white bread underwent a periodic change in its price, especially during the grain harvest seasons, when increases in the guaranteed price are usually authorized. The last rise in this price occurred on 20 March, when it rose from 37,000 to 58,000 pesos per ton.

The guarantee prices usually rise during the harvest pre-season, of which there are two per year, one called fall-winter, which begins in October and ends in January of the following year, and the other, spring-summer, starting on 21 March and concluding at the end of the next August.

The removal of subsidies for wheat flour has already occurred in half of the country (in nearly all the northern states, from Aguascaliente upward) and, according to the source consulted, this will most certainly happen in the rest of the republic before the new minimum wages go into effect.

Tortibonds Issued

Mexico City EXCELSIOR in Spanish 28 May 86 pp 5-A, 29-A

[Text] Unforgable (they have a watermark), invalid if they have erasures or changes, like checks, non-negotiable, and with the warning that they may only be exchanged "for tortillas," the tortibonds have gone on sale.

Each one is worth 64 pesos and is used to purchase 2 kilograms of tortillas, which would otherwise cost 160; because the official price of the product is 80 pesos.

The first issue of tortibonds, in series, and limited to the metropolitan area of the Federal District, consists of 35 million coupons, representing 70 million kilograms of subsidized tortillas. They were printed on fine paper by the Graphic Workshops of the Nation. The first batch of 100,000 was distributed the day before yesterday.

Although it will be the trade unions that will be responsible for selling (or giving them) to their union members, the union leaders themselves have assumed a shameful attitude toward this program, commenting that "it is a political measure of the government in view of the insufficient 25.1 percent increase in minimum wages."

The head of the Labor Congress, Rafael Riva Palacio, sent the groups comprising it a circular letter in which he cautions:

"It should be explained that this program (that of the tortibonds) is unrelated to the dissatisfaction that the labor movement has expressed over the recent decontrol of tortilla prices, as well as the petition that we submitted on the freeze affecting products."

Nevertheless, the Labor Congress itself has already officially requested of the Commerce Secretariat that the program not last only 4 months, as has been planned, but that it cover the entire year.

The program is officially termed "corn-tortilla program in defense of the workers' economy," and every bond carries the following "important" statement on the reverse side: "Through an express agreement by SECOFIN-CONASUPO-DICONSA [CONASUPO Distributing Agency], the following regulations have been established:

"This bond is non-negotiable. The purchaser of this bond may exchange it only for tortillas. The tortilla maker receiving this bond may exchange it only for an equivalent of 'nixtamal' [high-quality corn used to manufacture tortillas] dough, at mills registered with SECOFIN. This bond is not valid if it shows erasures, tears, or changes. This bond is not valid for exchange in any federative state other than the one printed on the front."

Shameful Attitude

Despite the fact that there is a document claiming that it was Angel Olivo Solis, former head of the Labor Congress, who requested of the Commerce Secretariat the establishment of a system of direct subsidies for the workers' consumption, and it will be the same labor agency that will promote the sale of the tortibonds,among labor leaders one notes a shameful attitude toward this type of action.

Yesterday, some of them declared: "The labor movement does not agree with this kind of action, but alternatives must be sought"; arguing that every proletarian family will save 48 pesos on the purchase of every kilogram of tortillas.

According to the agreement between the Labor Congress and the Commerce Secretariat, the tortibonds will be sold through the labor union organizations.

It is stipulated in the document that, "The Labor Congress will promote the program among the union leadership; the unions will request their inclusion in the program from DICONSA; agreements will be concluded between the unions and DICONSA; each union will sell the bonds to the workers benefiting; the sales will be arranged with DICONSA so as to adapt to the following provisions:

"DICONSA will be paid the value of the bonds sold, and a new supply will be requested through the revolving fund; the consuming worker will visit the commissioned union representative or the social action or women's secretariat (as agreed for this purpose) to purchase his weekly supply."

Tortibonds Criticized

Mexico City UNOMASUNO in Spanish 14 May 86 p 2

[Pedro Ocampo Ramirez commentary: "Egalitarian Society, The Tortilla of Discord"]

[Text] It's not that bad; or, at worst, it is. At worst, those awful Mexicans dissatisfied with everything that fate (or folly, perhaps) gives them, who have engaged in publicizing the idea, almost a proposition, that when one of our technocrats decides to use his imagination, one must start running or throwing himself on the ground and begin crying, are not doing so badly in their assessments. Something of the sort could happen in this matter of distributing coupons for the purchase of tortillas at subsidized prices, unless something worse occurs: that this small privilege disguised as social justice may become a weapon for control in the hands of trade union politicians, civic leaders, etc., or an unethical source of income for some of the aforementioned leaders.

At the outset, the creation of the coupons cited (popularly known as "tortibonds") constitutes another step toward exacerbating the contradictions in our so-called egalitarian society, by making social justice a privilege. A privilege for the simple and most regrettable reason that it is a justice that does not reach everyone and, as has become customary, only benefits the right people: those who already have something and hence are given more, as we have noted on several occasions.

As everyone knows, with the subsidy to mill owners and tortilla establishment owners taken away from the food basket (a means of playing a three-sided trick on consumers, without really benefiting the producer), they have opted to give the unionized workers, through the agencies with which they are affiliated, the coupons through the submission of which they will be able to buy their daily supply of tortillas, at prices lower than those set for the ordinary consumer. There will be many middle-class housewives grumbling and ending up paying the new unsubsidized prices of this food which is the people's bread and the basis of most of the snacks with which their imagination fools hunger and pleases the palate. The middle class consumers will do something to face the new price, without having a coupon or credentials attesting to their growing impoverishment , and the unionized workers will do something to survive the crisis, not only with the coupons for the tortillas, but also with the small wage increases that they receive. But what will happen to the jobless workers, and the unemployed and underemployed who are increasingly numerous and eating less?

We must emphasize this issue which by now has become a fixation for us: In our basically unjust society, the one who has a steady job also has (at least this is what the laws and work contracts claim) a remunerative wage, paid vacations, profit-sharing, union stores in which, besides the price discount, he is not charged the VAT, medical care, retirement, disability or life insurance, pharmacies, loans for housing, household goods bought on credit from FONACOT

[Development and Guarantee Fund for Workers Consumption], and now, in addition, even the "tortibonds," which have thereby become a labor conquest. An entire history of labor struggles endorses the improvements that the organized workers have gained in their labor relations, and it would be unjust to haggle over the right that they have to an increasingly better living. But it would be even more unjust to remain silent and refuse a voice to those who, in constantly rising numbers, constitute the backwardness of our society, the evidence of how unjust it is, and the demand that more consideration be given to them.

The unemployed, the underemployed, and the chronic victims who lack all the benefits that we have mentioned, have not succeeded in making contact in our society with the social justice that the revolution intended to offer to everyone, without keeping that pledge. They do have contact, usually having it in the roundups undertaken against street vendors and even in the evictions from their squatter camps or in the operations aimed at breaking up a demonstration or a protest march, with that other justice, capable of ordering the punishment (rules are rules) of the unemployed person who dares to beg for alms on the street.

Since these Mexicans cannot pick up their coupons or "tortibonds" in unions to which they do not belong, nor in work centers where there are no jobs for them, an ingenious solution has been devised: that of giving directly to each one of them (they total several million in all) the aforementioned bonds that will enable them to purchase tortillas at subsidized prices. But, indeed, before proceeding with the turnover of coupons to the unemployed and underemployed, it will be necessary to carry out, for each of them (millions of them, Messrs technocrats) a socioeconomic study to ascertain whether they are really poor or are only going about disguised as if they were.

The other measure is also praiseworthy: to distribute among civic leaders or heads of other popular organizations sufficient books of coupons to distribure (one tortilla, one vote?) among the grassroots; "tortibonds" which, of course, will have to be distributed (as planned in the offices set up in some cloud, where this idea came into being) based on the most unobjectionable scrupulousness.

Assurances From CONASUPO Head

Mexico City EXCELSIOR in Spanish 30 May 86 pp 4-A, 31-A

[Text] Yesterday, the general director of the National Company for Basic Commodities (CONASUPO), Jose Ernesto Costemalle, claimed that the Federal Government has been "very consistent" in its conciliatory function with respect to antisocial positions.

Interviewed briefly at the conclusion of the third work report submitted by the director of the National Family Integration System, Leobardo C. Ruiz, in the Carranza Room at Los Pinos [official presidential residence], Costemalle remarked:

"The subsidies that CONASUPO is giving are fully justified, and will continue to be granted in a selective, organized manner so that this area will become increasingly less burdensome on public finances."

He stressed that these subsidies are "indispensable," particularly in cases such as that of tortillas, bread, and what is conveyed through social programs to low-income sections of the city.

Costemalle emphasized that it has been clearly established that, if in normal times the sufficient presence of programs to regulate markets is required to prevent antisocial practices, it is needed "with all the more reason during this critical period to protect purchasing power."

He was asked about the recent attacks on CONASUPO, from the standpoint of inquiring whether they meant that there was a split among various sectors of the society, and he commented:

"There is definitely no reason for a split. You know that, all of a sudden, there have been incidents and positions that could be depicted as attitudes. The Federal Government has been very consistent in stressing thatits function is a conciliatory one among all sectors of the society, precisely in order to forge ahead."

He noted that, in real terms, CONASUPO's budget has declined during the 6-year period between 45 and 50 percent, but he claimed that, this year, the budget will be 1.4 million pesos, "sufficient" to meet the obligations of this parastate enterprise.

Costemalle also precluded the possibility that CONASUPO may request additional funds to maintain the subsidies, claiming that the budget originally approved would be kept.

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CSO: 3248/477

BISHOPS APPEAL FOR CHRISTIAN BEHAVIOR IN POLITICAL LIFE

Mexico City DOCUMENTACION E INFORMACION CATOLICA in Spanish 10-17 Apr 86
pp 209-214

[Document entitled "Christian Consistency in Politics, Pastoral Exhortation of the Bishops of the Northern Pastoral Region," issued 19 March 1986. For related items, see JPRS LATIN AMERICA REPORT of 15 May 86 (JPRS-LAM-86-042), pp 75-76; of 6 Feb 86 (JPRS-LAM-86-015), p 111; of 18 Sep 85 (JPRS-LAM-85-078), pp 67-87; of 9 Sep 85 (JPRS-LAM-85-076), pp 107-108]

[Text] Editor's Note: On 19 March 1986, the bishops of the dioceses comprising the Northern Pastoral Region published a document regarding some matters associated with political activity. They assert the Church's right "to illuminate the area of political reality with the light of faith," and set forth some principles taken from the Church Magisterium, especially Vatican Council II and the Puebla '79 document. The layout of the document is as follows:

Introduction

I. Discerning Membership in a Party
II. Sound Political Pluralism
III. Christian Attitude Toward Corruption
IV. Correct Understanding of the Church
V. Heed for the Church's Social Doctrine
VI. The Laity: Witness to Christ in the World
VII. Absolute Fidelity to Christ Alone

Conclusion

The document, which was extensively discussed and submitted to the press on Saturday, 22 March, is signed by the archbishop of Chihuahua, Adalberto Almeida y Merino; the bishop of Ciudad Juarez, Manuel Talamas Camandari; the bishop of Torreon, Fernando Romo Gutierrez, and his coadjutor, Luis Morales Reyes; the prelate of Nuevo Casas Grandes, Hilario Chavez Joya, M.N.M; and the vicar apostolic of Tarahumara, Jose Alberto Llaguno Farias, S.J.

The Federal District press has been commenting on the document, but has only published a few excerpts, which have received some comments and even editorials. The complete text which DIC hastens to publish is as follows:

Pastoral Exhortation

To our dear brothers in faith, the Catholics of our dioceses who are militants in political parties:

1. We the undersigned bishops address you prompted by our obligation as pastors to announce the Gospel of Christ to you and support you with a living faith, so that you may be true witnesses to Christ in an activity as praiseworthy and at the same time as filled with risks to Christian conscience as politics.

2. This exhortation applies generally to all the Catholics who militate in any political party, and we hope that this is how they will interpret it; because it is no exaggeration to claim that the course which democracy and social justice take in the near future depends largely on the positions assumed by its leaders and other members.

3. We hope that you, as Catholics, do not share the error of certain persons who deny the Church the right to illuminate the area of political reality with the light of faith, as if this reality did not also have to be governed by the commandments of God. Certain ideological movements tend to confine the living experience of faith to the private realm of individual and family life. They deny faith its social dimension, and exclude it from all professional, economic, social, and political activity.

4. The Church has always claimed for itself the right and duty of discerning, with the light of the Gospel, the situations which occur in the area of politics. The Church's presence in this area stems from the innermost part of Christian faith: the dominion of Christ, which extends to all human life on earth (Puebla '79, 511-516).

5. Vatican Council II teaches that, "It is just that the Church should be able, at all times and in all places, to preach the faith with real freedom, to teach its social doctrine, to carry out its mission among humans without any obstacle, and to give its moral judgment, even on matters relating to the political realm, when it is required by the fundamental rights of the person or the salvation of souls, using all and only those means that are consistent with the Gospel and the good of everyone" (Gaudium et Spes, 76).

6. In reflecting with you on some principles of political morality, we do so with absolute respect for "the fitting autonomy of what is temporal, and what is of value to governments, parties, trade unions, and other groups in the social and political area" (Puebla '79, 519), provided this autonomy is correctly understood (Gaudium et Spes, 36).

7. As pastors, we respect the option that you Catholic laity have taken for your party. We acknowledge, baced on the Church's present guidelines, that it is upon the laity that partisan politics is incumbent (Puebla '79, 524); and we reaffirm our decision to remain dissociated from it. As bishops, we are unable and unwilling to participate in any political party; something that also holds true for our priests, deacons, and religious.

8. We waive, with pleasure, any right that we might have in that area, so as to be able to preach the Gospel more freely to all political parties, as Christ preached it, without partisanship. We are aware that our parishioners, making use of their right, have opted for different political parties, and we have no desire to be biased in favor of any one, because that would jeopardize the unity of God's people (Puebla '79, 523-529).

9. As pastors, we must render an accounting to God of having preached the Gospel to you in its entirety, and we realize that not only the good of our nation, but also your eternal salvation, could depend on the concrete response that you give to Christ in your political activities.

I. Discerning Membership in a Party

10. We remind you once again that the Christian recognizes only the Kingdom of God as the sole ideal situation in which there will be complete peace, justice, and prosperity for all. This Kingdom is a gift of God which has already begun on earth with Jesus Christ, and which will not have perfect fulfillment until Christ comes at the end of time. Meanwhile, this Kingdom is growing in history, and expanding through the action of all humans who have consciously accepted Christ and are following him, and even those who, without expressly knowing or recognizing him, have accepted the values of this Kingdom and are attempting to put them into practice.

11. In the light of this ideal, the Christian must judge his membership in a political party, which is a partial, temporal, and temporary structure, in which there are good things and bad. The Christian who decides on a party or an ideology must always give them a discerning membership, wherein he accepts all that is good and rejects all that is bad in them, and must always be willing to exchange them for something better when he finds it.

12. Leaders, ideologues, and other members of his party must be aware that this is the type of membership that can be expected of a Catholic; because, to us, making a political party absolute, whatever it may be, and lending its principles and policies for action an exclusive, definitive nature, means succumbing to a kind of idolatry.

II. Sound Political Pluralism

13. Vatican Council II urges Christians to struggle with moral integrity and wisdom, not only against injustice and oppression, but also against the intolerance and absolutism of a single person, or of a single political party (Gaudium et Spes, 75). This does not mean that we must necessarily succumb to the two-party system.

14. In fact, a fixed, predetermined two-party system, which precludes other options for the citizens, would not represent progress over the single party system either. It is the people themselves, with their vote, who must decide how many and which parties they deem worthy to manage the common welfare, simultaneously or alternately.

15. Modern life is so complex, and the social problems are so great, that both governors and those of us who are governed must be aware of our own inadequacy for achieving solutions in isolation. All energies must be pooled for a better pursuit of the common welfare.

16. Vatican Council II also teaches us that, "It is completely in keeping with human nature that legal-political structures should be established to offer all citizens, without any discrimination and with increasing improvement, actual opportunities for participating, freely and actively, in laying the legal foundations of the political community, in governing public affairs, and in determining the areas of action and limits of the various institutions, as well as in electing rulers" (Gaudium et Spes, 75).

17. It is only natural that, with so many different people in a political community, they may, with every right, be inclined toward different solutions. With regard to Catholics, the Church teaches that, since all political parties and ideologies are something relative and temporary by nature, the very urgent need to comply with the will of God could lead Christians to different options and to be militants in different parties, without requiring on that account that they be satanized and exposed to the public as traitors.

18. Insofar as the Church is concerned, we repeat that no political party can claim for itself the representation of all the faithful; because one concrete program can have no value.

III. Christian Attitude Toward Corruption

19. It is no secret to anyone that, in Mexico, the institutions with public authority have been stricken with a deepseated, widespread, and by now very prolonged corruption. There is almost not a day on which the media or other sources of information do not alarm us with a new case of corruption: public funds are squandered for the benefit of officials; fictitious jobs are created within the bureacracy; funds to be used for public services are wasted through inefficiency; the granting of favors, and even legitimate services, is made to depend on favoritism or bribery, etc.

20. It is obvious that corruption, as a human act, is not confined solely to public institutions, but also occurs in the private ones; it is not confined to one party, but may occur in all of them; but we are commenting here on the exaggerated dimensions that corruption has assumed in Mexico, in the government institutions, where it has virtually been institutionalized under the authorities' protection.

21. We know that a considerable number of Catholics, who are sincere believers and practicing, think that, by their personal testimony within a party, and by the honest exercise of a public office, they are going to rid the institutions of the corruption that they contain. We respect their decision, but, at the same time, we urge them not to succumb to naivete, whereby they would end up participating in the very thing that they had previously condemned.

The corruption is obviously not due to the ideological principles of any party nor to the programs thereof. It would be monstrous for any party to have such an intention, and to consciously prompt its members to engage in it. The corruption that has for some time taken possession of the institutions is due primarily to the reluctance that exists for becoming open to a sincere, authentic democracy.

23. The lack of democracy in a party reveals a definite desire to exercise power in an absolute, uninterrupted manner. And absolute power, in human hands, which are necessarily limited, leads inexorably to corruption. Any system, regardless of how good it may be, when it becomes totalitarian, invalidates itself for promoting the common welfare.

24. When an official or a party does not owe its position to the voters, and when the retention thereof does not depend on a change of desire among the latter, they have no reason to account to anyone for their actions, nor do they experience the healthy concern, inherent in a genuine democracy, over responding to the citizens' expectations, looking forward to the results of future elections. Then the party becomes dissociated from the people; it acts in itself and for itself, and all its actions are aimed at retaining power by any means, and not at serving the people.

25. Now, underlying the corruption which is besetting the country is a greater corruption, namely, electoral fraud. This is shown not only in the forging of votes, but also in all those reprehensible measures leading to the padding of voting results in favor of one party, disregarding the citizens' free choice; for example:

Pressure on government workers to vote for a certain party, using threats or promises;

Pressure on citizens, offering them services which, by their nature, should be rendered as normal acts of government;

Putting all, or nearly all the news media in the service of a single party, while at the same time suppressing information relating to the other parties or candidates;

Diverting public administration funds to meet political campaign expenses;

Linking to a certain party the intermediate organizations which, by nature, should be independent; for example, the trade unions, using them for partisan or electoral purposes.

26. These bad habits, and many others, which we have all witnessed, should not be tolerated by any Christian conscience, because they constitute a serious sin against several commandments of the law of God.

27. You Catholics should be the first to repudiate those corrupt practices, and also to exceed the criticism that might be voiced by the other parties or

among citizens. You should be the critical conscience of your party, even though this position may entail serious consequences for you. Remember the words of Jesus: "What does it profit a man to gain the whole world, if he loses his soul?" (Mk. 8:36). "You are the salt of the earth, the Lord also said; and if salt loses its flavor...it is good for nothing but to be thrown away and trodden underfoot" (Mt.5:13).

28. We know that many people, including Catholics, justify the need for the continuation of a single party in power at any price, out of fear (in their eyes very legitimate) that, without it, Mexico would be incapable of governing itself, or would fall into the hands of other parties that might jeopardize the country's independence and security. There is no reason to be surprised by this type of justification, which has always been reiterated by totalitarian regimes, and which, in essence, conceals the fear that the people are not yet mature enough to discern the course of action that best befits them, while at the same time attempting to keep them in a political immaturity that would warrant such fears. In any event, in politics too, we must remember that "the end does not justify the means."

IV. Correct Understanding of the Church

29. It is normal for you, as Catholics, to be striving for the ideals of your party, along with other comrades who do not share your faith. Many of them are even avowed agnostics or atheists, and even belong to associations that have traditionally shown overt hostility to the Church or profess ideologies contrary to it.

30. In this regard, we must remember that we Catholics, while at the same time demanding complete freedom to profess and express our religious convictions, must also respect the convictions of others, based on the pluralism that typifies modern society, stringently abiding by the limits that demarcate the rights of others.

31. Nevertheless, this sound pluralism and this coexistence should not lead you to indifference, much less to reneging , either tacitly or expressly, on the beliefs that you profess in the family or private environment. "For whoever is ashamed of me and my words (says Jesus) the Son of Man will be ashamed of him when he comes in his glory" (Lk. 9:26). This situation should rather, encourage you to reaffirm your own identity as Christians, and to "Be always ready with your defense when you are called to account for the hope that is in you" (1 Peter 3:15).

32. It is well known that many politicians, for lack of faith and because of historical prejudice, view the Church as merely a human institution, antagonistic toward the state, which is contantly striving to take away its political power or to gain privileges.

33. Whatever confusion there may have been in the past on one side or the other, confusing the authority of both entities, the Holy Spirit, who is constantly

working in his Church to lead it toward an increasingly full understanding of the teachings of Christ (Jn. 16:13), has been making us understand more clearly the nature and mission of the Church.

34. Now, do not let yourselves be led to an area of discussion that does not correspond to reality. You as, believers, should view your Church as the mystery of faith which it is. Though having a visible, structural feature established by us fallible humans who comprise it, the Church is not a merely human work, but has as its founder Jesus Christ, the Son of God made man, who established it based on the preaching of his Gospel, as well as his redeeming death and his glorious resurrection. He indicated for it as a task the same one that he came to perform at the behest of his Father: to announce the Kingdom of God and to establish it among all peoples, being itself the beginning of that Kingdom (Lumen Gentium, 5). Christ himself makes us experience his constant presence in the Church through his Spirit (Mt. 28:20; 1 Jn. 3: 24).

35. Then, let us not attempt to classify the Church in the same molds that we use to define political communities. For example, terms such as "monarchy" or "democracy" do not pertain to it. The Church is, above all, a "communion," that is, a people comprised of humans of all races and nations, who have as a supreme principle and model the unity of a single God, in the Trinity of persons (Lumen Gentium, 4).

V. Heed for the Church's Social Doctrine

36. Among the topics relating to the Church which are often distorted, is that concerning Church-State relations. Certain partisan sectors insist upon accusing the Church of opposing the separation of both entities, established during the last century.

37. We can assert that this separation benefits the Church no less than the State, and the Church fully accepts it; because the two institutions "are independent and autonomous, each in its own area. Both, although with different entitlement, are in the service of human personal and social desires. They will perform this service with all the more efficiency for the good of everyone the better the two cultivate a sound cooperation with each other" (Gaudium et Spes, 76).

38. Nevertheless, we think that this process of separating Church and State in Mexico is not yet completed. It suffers from serious faults, since the State constitutionally ignores the Church's legal status, and has established an improper State interference in the Church's internal affairs.

39. This matter, and many others relating to the economic, political, and social areas, have received suitable treatment in the Church's social doctrine. This doctrine, based on Sacred Scripture and on the theological reflection of 20 centuries, has been structured and systematized since the last century in particular, and now enjoys great prestige in the international area.

40. It is obvious that you, as political Catholics, should study it thoroughly, in order to receive guidance from it in your political activity. The Church's social doctrine is not the property of any party, nor does it coincide with any system. But it is a service of reflection that the Church offers to all parties and systems, to reinforce, guide, and correct their ideologies, as the case may be. The least that can be expected of a Catholic is that, through his thinking and actions, this doctrine would influence all areas of human activity.

VI. The Laity: Witness to Christ in the World

4. "The divorce between the faith and daily life of many [Christians) should be considered one of the most serious mistakes of our time" (Gaudium et Spes, 43). We might claim that this comment from the Council accurately indicates one of the main flaws that we must overcome in Mexican Catholicism.

42. Catholics are mistaken who, influenced by an ideology alien to our faith, think that they can devote themselves totally to temporal affairs, for example, business and politics, as if the latter had no connection with the authenticity of their Christian life, or as if the latter were confined only to certain acts of worship or the fulfillment of certain moral obligations in the individual realm (Gaudium et Spes, 43). It is extremely important for Catholics who militate in a political party to assume their identity as lay members of the People of God, which is the Church. Hence, fulfilling an enjoyable pastoral obligation, we want to help them to remember the marvelous richness of that reality.

43. Their status as lay member of the Church stems from the fact that they have been incorporated into Christ by baptism and by the other sacraments of Christian initiation, whereby they are integrated into the People of God and participate, in their way, in the priestly, prophetic, and royal mission of Christ, to perform the task which He assigned to his Church.

44. Unlike priests, it is incumbent on the laity, based on their own calling, to try to establish the Kingdom of God, by managing temporal affairs and putting them in order according to God. Laymen are called by God, in doing their own work or practicing their profession, guided by the evangelical spirit, to contribute to the construction of the world from within, by way of ferment. Laymen are those who make the Church present and operative in those places and circumstances wherein it could only become the salt of the earth through them.

45. To carry out this marvelous task, laymen are not alone nor devoid of resources, because they have been incorporated into Christ who, through grace, lives and acts in them, strengthening them and illuminating them with his Spirit. Thus, laymen have the task of cleansing the structures and environment of the world, when they are dominated by sin (Lumen Gentium, 4).

46. For this, brothers, is your highest honor and your greatest responsibility. We might quite rightfully wonder whether the political activity in Mexico, the exercise of which has, in the eyes of many, become synonymous with corruption, would be the same if the laymen who hold public offices, many of whom come from very Christian families and were trained in Catholic schools and apostolic groups, were consistent with their Christian calling.

VII. Absolute Fidelity to Christ Alone

47. We urge our dear Catholic brothers committed to politics, among whom there are relatives and very close friends of ours, under all circumstances, to remain very united to Jesus Christ, and to constantly cultivate a greater understanding of, and friendship with Him.

48. Only Christ can claim absolute fidelity of us. He is, as our faith confesses, true God and true man. He is the only mediator between God and man (1 Tim. 2:5). He is the stone which many builders reject, but which has become a cornerstone for building a more humane and happier world. "There is no salvation in anyone else at all, for there is no other name under heaven granted to men by which we may receive salvation" (Acts 4:11-13).

49. "The Lord is the end of human history, a point of convergence toward which all the desires of history and civilization are aimed, the center of humanity, joy of the human heart, and total fulfillment of its aspirations " He is the one who gave up his life in sacrifice for our sins, and "whom the Father revived, exalted, and placed at his right hand, making him judge of the living and dead" (Gaudium et Spes, 45).

50. Therefore, "Jesus, in a unique, original, and incomparable manner, requires a radical following, which includes every man, all men, and involves the whole world and the entire cosmos. This radical nature makes the conversion (to Him) a never finished process, both on the personal and social level. Because while the Kingdom of God includes historical achievements (such as parties, systems, or structures), it is not exhausted nor identified with them" (Puebla '79, 193).

51. As pastors, we are aware that it is not easy to live these realities of faith, embodying them in the area of politics which, in turn, has so many implications in the economic, social, and cultural areas, and in all human activities. Hence, we are urging you to live your calling as laymen, and your political militancy in the context of a profound spirituality.

52. Devoting oneself to constant prayer is not in contradiction to the political position; quite the contrary, it urgently requires this. Foster a close communion with the Lord, through the sacraments, especially the Sacrament of Reconciliation (Penance), which purifies our conscience through Christ's expiatory sacrifice, and keeps us in a constant attitude of conversion.

53. Also participate in the celebration of the Eucharist, receiving the body and blood of the Lord, which gives us life and strengthens us to be his

witnesses. No Catholic, even if he be a high-ranking official, is excused from this celebration, unless it is because of a physical impossibility. Moreover, the loftier his responsibilities, the more he needs to visit the source of grace. Nevertheless, try to rid that fulfillment of your duty as members of the Christian community of any vestige of propaganda that might discredit your good intentions and manipulate the people's religious sentiments. Finally, keep as a bedside book and traveling companion the Sacred Scriptures, especially the New Testament, the reading of which will fill you with wisdom for the correct discharge of your critical mission.

Conclusion

54. We address this exhortation to you in your capacity as Catholics. We have no intention of influencing your strictly political and partisan activities. We only ask you that, whatever they may be, you engage in them abiding strictly by Christian morality and the dictates of your conscience. Nor should our intervention be viewed as backing or impugning any party, because we declare ourselves dissociated from, and at the same time respectful of all of them.

55. Nevertheless, we hope that every party will observe itself free from temptation toward totalitarianism, not alien to the exercise of power, and determined to participate in free democratic activity with the other parties, trusting in the Mexican people's political maturity. This is the only way in which the parties can contribute to the country the values which are their own, and help to make the nation great.

19 March 1986, Feast of St Joseph

Adalberto Almeida y Merino
Archbishop of Chihuahua

Manuel Talamas Camandari
Bishop of Ciudad Juarez

Hilario Chavez Joya, N.N.M.
Bishop of Nuevo Casas Grandes

Jose A. Llaguno Farias, S.J.
Bishop of Tarahumara

Fernando Romo Gutierrez
Bishop of Torreon

Luis Morales Reyes
Coadjutor Bishop of Torreon

2909
CSO: 3248/478

SEVERAL GRASSROOTS CHURCH COMMUNITIES DESCRIBED BY MEMBERS

Mexico City CHRISTUS in Spanish Mar 86 pp 20-28

[Text] History of Our Community, 1970-1985

We present a collective account of several suburban CEB's [Grassroots Church Communities]. This is an article prepared as follows: In each community, they taped their account. They were given the topics and were allowed to narrate as they wished. The person who edited took the seven tapes on which they had responded and combined them into one article, adhering to them as much as possible. The chronological order may not be very accurate at some junctures. There are repetitions, words that are not very technical, etc.; but it is their story.

The history of our community is not long, but it is very rich. Fifteen years ago, people were just beginning to arrive in this "colonia" [urban community], one of those forming the "outskirts" of the country's large cities.

Some of us had already lived over in other colonias, renting a small room, or in outhouses or very ugly neighborhoods, or moving in with relatives. But most of us came directly from our towns and farms. We were all looking for work, because it was claimed there that everything was different here: that there was a way of earning a living, having doctors and schools, and earning money...in short, that it would be easier for us to survive.

Some of us thought that our coming was only temporary, but we have not yet returned to our land. Our children are now from here.

We began hearing that in this colonia they were selling cheap land with utilities, and that they were giving 6 years to pay for it. Since we no longer wanted to rent or keep moving around, we decided to buy our plots, some sooner and others later. We were poor, we are poor, and we couldn't buy in a better colonia. We bought in a poor colonia, and here we are.

The first of us to arrive found a desolate, rocky land, full of brambles. We bought our small plots with much sacrifice. Some of us were at the point of losing them, because we had no money to pay the monthly installments, and they were threatening that if we were 2 months overdue they would cancel our plots.

At first, most of us lived in huts made of sheets of cardboard; there were but few families who had a small portion of material, because all of us were the poorest people existing, and the only thing we wanted was a little plot of our own, even if it were under a shed roof. Gradually, we became settled: some in a small adobe room without a roof, only half covered with some twigs.

When it rained, we had to crowd together in a little corner so as not to get wet, and we had to use oilcloth because everything was soaked. Others were able to put up their little roof, but they had no doors, no floor, or anything. When the Lenten weather arrived, with the strong winds, the wind would blow off our cardboard roofs and everything was filled with dirt. Of course, most of us had no furniture, not even a small table for eating. There were no utensils for cooking either. Many people's stoves were the fires that we made on the ground with sticks. What a kitchen, with nothing!

We lived in this situation for months, and even years. until, with the help of God, we were able to become somewhat settled. Many of us have not yet finished our houses. We fix them up and repair them as needed, and as we can.

During that first period, there were but few plots that had their water tap. The owners shared it with the others, but when we were not near a tap, we had to travel very far to haul the water needed for drinking, preparing meals, and making the bricks for our houses. Sometimes, especially during May, there was a great water shortage. We spent entire days without a drop, or with only a little shower at midnight or dawn. When we all had our own tap, we realized that the installed water systems were insufficient for the colonia. There was no light either. Some of the streets were paved with stones, and others were not. There were no sidewalks. We lacked telephones and garbage collection service.

Indeed, we lacked most of the services required in a place that is beginning to be inhabited with extraordinary speed. The sellers offered us the colonia under some conditions, and they turned it over to us under different ones.

By then, a small chapel had already been erected where Mass was celebrated. Then the first stone was placed, and construction began on the church that we have now.

The urban buses did not enter this far. The terminal was very far away, and we had to do much walking. That was hard and, at night, with the colonia in darkness, it was becoming dangerous.

There were no schools. The children studied on vacant lots or in fenced plots given to us by the owners. They sat on bricks or stones. People who had a little more knowledge were the ones who gave the courses, because if we had no schools, we were far less likely to have teachers.

Despite everything, we were happy amid our poverty. We felt free, and we had hope of progressing and our children's having something better than what our lot had been.

We were growing, based on much sacrifice. Some, who were more restless, wanted to do something about so many needs. We began meeting, and looking at the problems. We learned how to organize and so, organized and more and more aware, we went to the authorities, protesting and holding demonstrations. Through a struggle lasting years, we achieved water, light, transportation, telephones, garbage collection, schools and teachers. These accomplishments are due mainly to God, but they were a result of our communities' unity and cooperation, along with all the people, and with the encouragement, support, and guidance of our advisers. Despite the difficulties, we did not become discouraged, and managed to forge ahead until we achieved what we had proposed in each instance.

Our community groups were founded at different times and in different ways. We retain the memory of those beginnings:

"Our community was founded one Monday afternoon, when a little girl came and told me: 'Mother wants to talk to you.' And she told many other women the same thing that she had told me. The Mother invited us to gather in a vacant lot. It was very nice, because the Mother had a record-player on a chair, and she was playing a record, as if we were children. We formed a circle around that chair and that music. When the record ended, the Mother began talking to us and asking our names, ages, and where we were from. And so we began to become acquainted, not just we and the Mother, but all of us, because, although we lived near each other, we didn't even know each other's names. In this way, our community was formed: we started to become acquainted. At first, they taught us to look at how we were living our Christianity, first, in ourselves, then in our families, and then in our neighbors. And we realized that we were not true Christians, as we claimed; we were not Catholics. We were 'very Catholic,' but didn't even know the name of our next door neighbor. We didn't know if someone was sick. That was not real Christianity, but we have been learning there."

"I remember that at first our community consisted only of women. We met at 5 o'clock in the afternoon. We then began some exercises when Father gave them to us, he urged us to form groups. Then we contacted several women. Later, the husbands joined too, and we formed a community of couples which has been operating with some faults, but has tried to make progress.

"The nuns kept inviting people, house by house. At first, the groups were very large. Now they consist of fewer persons, but we have taken steps with reflection, celebrations, commitment and struggle."

"Our community came into existence in a makeshift way, without realizing that some day it would be a community group. We have been becoming more aware."

"The nuns started the CEB's. The first people who responded went, like them, from door to door, inviting the women. 'Come along, ladies, let's meet, because we have many needs in the colonia and we have to unite in order to gain anything; we must be united to defend ourselves. We saw the problems that we had, and they read us a text from the Bible, and taught us how to reflect properly, because we didn't know. We arrived very ignorant of all such things, and we didn't know why. We arrived so shy, some from farms, others from towns, and others from right here! None of us had relations with other people, much less other groups. We were not even inclined to talk, because it seemed to us that, if we spoke, at best everything we said would not be put correctly. And so, we started the communities. The religious were very patient with us. They taught us to see the word of God. And we did understand everything that they told us, but we didn't participate, for lack of confidence and ignorance. Little by little, we lost the fear of speaking, to the point where now we are inclined to speak even with the governor."

"Our community was founded by the nuns and Father X. They are the founders of the CEB's here. At first, some people also came from other colonias in the city to help us form the groups and to give us courses. A married couple came to our group. At that time, the group consisted of about 30 persons, but we think that many joined just because of their interest in the gifts that the gentlemen brought us, especially at Christmas. When they stopped coming, the group was reduced to about eight, who are those of us continuing up until now, but very willingly, and with great desires of working."

"Our group was founded at the invitation of one of the nuns who were working on the school. She asked us why we didn't form a community of the parents in our block. And she encouraged us to form it. We started inviting people, but since that didn't catch on very quickly, it was hard for us to form the group. In the end, we had a few parents left, but others have joined, and the group has remained stable. We are progressing here, little by little. Depending on the problem that we have, that is what we look at during our meeting. We analyze what guidance we can obtain; we look for a reading of the word of God; we comment on it; and we set some commitment for the week."

Some of us recall very personal experiences:

"I didn't know anything about religion, and I was sad, when they asked me questions that I couldn't answer. But they persisted with me, and I went the first time, and liked it a little...and a second time, and I liked it more. The third time, I stayed."

"The communities didn't attract me. A woman invited me and, since I had nothing to do that day, not even watch television, I went, although without any enthusiasm. And we are still here."

"A woman invited me, but I didn't like it, because I am very stupid, and I was ashamed not to be able to answer. Little by little, we could say what we felt, even though it may have been very little. We have great spirit and enthusiasm , and God must help us. In these groups, we are the poor, as in the time of Christ; for those who followed him were the poor. But we poor sometimes also make excuses for not serving God our Lord."

"The day after my arrival, I lost one of my children, and the neighbors told me that the nuns could help me find him. I went and they took care of me, helping me to make it known that I had lost the child.

"When we found him, they invited me to join the community groups. I didn't even know what a community was. They said to me: 'Let's go to the community.' Well, we went! I began to enjoy it. They read a reading, and commented on it, and I began to realize that the people were different from those in the barrios from which I came; because there ne didn't even know the people next door, much less those on another street. I entered and I was pleased at how people took an interest in someone who had just arrived in the colonia. That is how I began in the community groups."

It has been the Lord who has called us, some first, and others later; some in one way, and others in another. And we have all been meeting each other on this path.

In our communities, we have been accompanied and supported by the nuns who came to live among us from the beginning: our first parish priest (not like those who came after, as we shall observe later), and the nuns who were in the colonia for several years. All of them, besides loving, understanding, and encouraging us, have taught us to understand the word of God.

We have been finding this word in the Bible, in our brothers, in our commitment, in every step that we take in daily life, in events. It has made us realize that God is not pleased by injustices. We have discovered it as a living word that is calling us at every moment.

Our advisers have given us training in many areas: an understanding and use of the Bible, analysis of reality, politics, human relations, coordination of groups, and some practical skills. They have accompanied and organized us; they taught us the path. In this way, we have been able to grow in awareness, just as when Jesus put mud on the blind man, and then he could see reality as it was. For this reason, now we let ourselves be led by anything that they tell us.

During all these years, we have shared life, problems, and going along with the CEB's of other colonias. We are happy that there are increasingly more who decide to follow Jesus around here. We have had solidarity in problems, and we have shared experiences. It has always encouraged us to know that we are not alone, that there are many of us traveling along this path.

Together, we have learned to preach the Gospel, to denounce the injustices committed against the people. We do so organized with the groups and individuals around us, enlightening ourselves with the word of God. We have also learned to admit mistakes and wrong steps made by each one of us and the communities.

Many things have been changing among us and around us: we have more faith in Jesus, and we let ourselves be guided by him. We know how to understand each other better, and to coexist better with others. We view the family and the neighbors with more love. We are more aware that many problems beset our colonia, and that we can only solve them with the mutual help of all. We no longer have a blindfold over our eyes, and we now know what man wants and what God doesn't want. We have been losing fear, and we have more spirit for fighting against all injustices. We have learned to defend our rights. In short, our way of living, thinking and acting has become different, because we are trying to live the Gospel.

If we are asked today what the CEB's are, from our experience we can say that they are the foundation of the Church; in other words, the people, the alienated, the downtrodden, those of us struggling united to achieve what the Lord wants: that we be only one. We are the living Church itself, which is awakening; the Church in motion, a missionary and liberating Church. We are the people of God who are trying to awaken.

Have we had difficulties? Of course! There are neighbors who treat us as "communists" and "gossips," to whom we have tried to explain the way things are. We have invited them to come and see what we are doing, and to join the groups. We try to help them with what they need. We also try not to pay attention to the criticism.

Another problem has been with our own families, because sometimes they don't understand what we are doing; they don't listen to what we are trying to teach them; they don't think as we do. We always ask God to help us overcome the obstacles confronting us, especially when they try to prevent us from attending the groups and participating in the community activities. We try to help them to understand this path.

We have had many difficulties with the Protestant brothers. The sects are increasing more each day, and they have a different way of viewing things. They want us to change our religion, and since people are ignorant of the word of God, they accept them. We have tried to guide people, talking with them, and reading the Bible as God wishes, in relation to our reality. We have prepared ourselves somewhat not to let ourselves be deceived, and we have asked God to give us great strength to progress.

But the most serious problem that has marked our community life has been the lack of understanding on the part of the parish priests, since our first curate left, up until now.

Our first parish priest was a good priest for the colonia that was beginning. He suffered the discomforts just as we did. He always cooperated with the nuns and the religious clergy in the work of the communities. The parish was like a center uniting all the groups, so that we could be like a family. We all collaborated enthusiastically, and collected funds for the church construction. Father thanked us for anything, even if it were 20 or 1 pesos. He visited our homes, advised us, and encouraged us when we were troubled, not knowing what path to take. The people were very happy, and the entire colonia was very lively. He and the other priests celebrated Masses in the barrios. Where there were communities, the Eucharist was celebrated, and the whole barrio took part. All those of us who lived nearby attended those Masses, and, if, for example, we saw someone to whom we had made a bad face, at that time we wished him peace and exchanged our remarks. It was very nice!

The first difficulty that we met with in our parish was the change in parish priests. When another Father came, there was a very difficult situation: he started to ignore the CEB's; he himself began treating us as communists, saying that these groups made no sense, that the people should meet only in the parish, and that we had no reason to leave it so as to reflect in any way. He even told us that we were groups who sat on the street saying unimportant things, and that we didn't read the Gospel.

We held dialogue with him, and showed him our records of reflection, and, at that very time, he was convinced of some things. But he set the parish groups against the CEB's and many people became confused; the parish was left divided, and we all suffered greatly, as if the division had come from there. We continued seeking dialogue and closeness and, in time, many of those who at first had believed him were convinced that he was not correct in what he was saying about us, and there began to be more understanding.

While, at first, when we were all working united and with the parish priest's support, we felt that we were the Church, in any case we still feel that we are; because now, with what we have learned, we don't feel outside, even though the parish priest would like to throw us out. In any case, we know that we are a Church.

We believe that these problems have come from the lack of understanding of what the CEB's are and what they are doing, on the part of the curate and others. The CEB's are thought to be working on something other than what the Church is. They need to be closer to what is being done.

When our parish priest was replaced again, we had great hope that things would change, but another one with the same ideas arrived. It seems as if these parish priests, when they receive the parish, received the church but not the people. They need to be closer to our lives, to our problems. They seem to think that the Church is just what is inside the church building.

Our greatest sorrow is that they have stopped saying Mass in the barrios. For about 3 years, they haven't been allowed by the parish. We are sad, because we need them very much. How much they nourished our faith! They gave us strength and courage. We celebrated there as a community what we were living, our struggles, and the gains made. There, we would entrust our needs to God together, and pray for each other, for everyone. How much they motivated the CEB's themselves and the residents! But, in the parish, they claim that if we want those Masses it is out of mere whim for attending church.

What have we done in the face of all this? We haven't gone about publicizing the problems here and there; rather, we have formed commissions to go and hold dialogue with our parish priests, and state things to them; to tell them that we are not acting apart from the word of God, but it has been the light for our continuing on this path. We have invited the curate and the other Fathers from the parish to our meetings, but they are not interested in attending. We have also sent them the petitions from many other people who want a real service to the people from the parish, and who feel that they are not receiving it. Up until now, we have not achieved anything in that dialogue; we have had no response. But we'll continue trying, for the good of all of us here. We are pained by the comments made about the parish, because, although we may have difficulties, we CEB's are a Church and, as a Church, it pains us to hear what people are saying.

When the parish has asked us for some help, for example, in coordinating groups for missions that have been organized, we have always gladly cooperated, together with the parish groups. Some closeness has been occurring with some of the latter because, besides the participation in common action, we have invited them to celebrations, meetings, and social gatherings, at which we have become acquainted.

The lack of support from the parish has made the work in the colonia slower. The nuns had to leave after several years of an unfailing commitment to us. We think that the lack of acceptance of their work by the parish had a great deal to do with this departure. How much their leaving here pained us! The nuns remained alone so as to encourage us and travel with us. Their work in the CEB's is by no means recognized or supported by the parish.

Over the past few years, that have been so difficult, some groups have become discouraged. Others of us have managed to forge ahead and, although there have been obstacles, we have not weakened. We consider as an accomplishment the fact that, with the help of God, we are increasingly aware, despite what is said about us, that we are not independent of the Church, but part of it.

What has nourished our community life most?

First of all, God himself. With his help, we contribute some of our share to make our faith grow and remain strong. His word, read and commented on at our meetings, and discovered in living, is our strength and our light. Therefore, we know that, as servants of the Lord, we are working to carry out the mission that he has entrusted to us; we are working for his Kingdom.

The word of God, especially in the Gospels, has taught us to look at ourselves as brothers; it has opened up for us the path of truth, by removing the blindfolds from our eyes, and has put our steps on the path of Jesus. From this we have learned to consider the problems of others and to commit ourselves to them. It has also helped us to give up some vices that we had.

The Eucharist, celebrated as community in the barrios, has been, as we said before, one of the most important foods of our faith. We don't have it now, but we have not lost hope, and we'll continue insisting until we achieve it again.

The spiritual exercises for each year and the experience of a group of us who managed to do the exercises in ordinary life, directed by a priest and by three of our nuns have given us the opportunity to renew our spirit, to change within, and to try to respond with enthusiasm to the call of Jesus to commit ourselves more to our brothers.

The participation in social gatherings and meetings with the CEB's from other parts of the city, the diocese, the region, and the country has always given up an impetus to forge ahead. In sharing experiences and realizing that other comrades have had worse problems and have overcome them, our faith has increased; because we think that, if they were able, with the help of God and unity among all, we too can do so. How nice it is to see so many, so many of our brothers from near and far acting in the same way!

If, here in the colonia, the commitment, affection and advice of our first parish priest, and other priests and nuns , have sustained and encouraged us, how much faith and hope it also gives us to see that more and more bishops and priests in the country are supporting the CEB's, and are now participating in them! At first, when the communities began, there was only backing from Medellin; then came Puebla and other documents supporting us, as well as documents from certain bishops in various places. Without that support, we would most likely have stopped, because there was much still lacking, and there are some who are opposed and refuse to join. As was said at a meeting: the CEB's are not a movement, but rather the Church in motion, the living Church. The parishes should inform the people of this.

How do we stand today, after 15 years of traveling together?

In the first place, our colonia has grown extraordinarily. And although we have achieved many things insofar as public services are concerned, very serious problems have appeared and are increasing, such as the disintegration of the family, drug addiction, and alcoholism. Our young people, sometimes so disoriented, worry us. We are sincerely trying to seek a solution to these serious situations.

We feel that people, in general, no longer have the fighting spirit that existed at the beginning. As soon as they achieve what is most essential, they become comfortable, and do no more work. However, some recent experiences have proven to us that, at the time of a problem affecting everyone, we know how to have solidarity and organize to demand our rights. Just like the little seed that was planted:when necessary, it yields fruit. At present, even the people who have left us because of their work or for other reasons remember that there are communities, and people who can give a little more guidance because they have worked on the struggles more. Therefore, they come to the communities, as if to seek advice and encouragement: Will this be all right? Should we go ahead? This is how we have achieved, if not everything, at least some of what we have needed.

Today, with the economic crisis, many, the majority, are poorer than before; and, at best, some are richer.

Our communities are united. Some work more, others less. But there we go, supporting one another. Some are a little discouraged, but when a group wants to become reduced or weakened, we invite others, and so it seems that the little tree is still putting out branches. The groups that have been here since the beginning are like a tree that seems dry, but the trunk is well rooted, and is putting out little shoots once in awhile. Therefore, the tree will not die.

It is very necessary for us to encourage one another. Sometimes, we leave, for fear of a commitment; because these groups are no longer "God and I," but rather "God and others." The CEB groups are groups of commitment, and action. If there is something wrong in the colonia, they go about organizing to see what can be done. We cannot remain just reflecting on the word of God; but we must act, work, and commit ourselves. And it is for this reason that many intend to remain in the CEB's. There are people who start with enthusiasm, so long as there is no mention of commitment or the problems that we have. There are people who leave because they feel that the area of the Gospel whould not be mixed with politics. It is very comfortable to come and listen, but with the time that we have, we see and think that it is not right for us to sit looking and listening; but rather, that we are capable of opening our hearts to help other people; we are capable of thinking and doing so. It is difficult to remain in these groups; but we know that it is God's business. There are people who go off to other groups, because there they do nothing but pray; but they don't work.

We have very few nuns now, because they are needed elsewhere. When they go, we feel very sad; but then we think that they are like Christ, that they must go to evangelize the entire world, and they have left us now because we are already capable of making progress. They arrived here when we knew nothing; they awakened us, and now they have gone somewhere else where, as in our case then, they need these people, even though it grieves us greatly. Their letters, visits, and greetings make us very happy and encouraged.

We want to forge ahead, to be more responsible about our commitment, to be always alert to what we need as a people; having relations between one colonia and another, with the CEB's, and with their advisers, who also take an interest in us, back us, and give us the help that we are not receiving from our parish.

We wish to continue in solidarity with our brothers in Central America and elsewhere, who need us and who ask for our aid. We are always interested in the news that reaches us, and we cooperate with our prayers, with letters of support, and with some money that we are able to collect when we organize activities to benefit them.

This is, in very simple form, our experience: the history of the years in which we have shared our lives, common problems, struggles, and hopes. This has been our path as a Church, in the Grassroots Church Communities, in the service of the Kingdom of God, and in the service of our brothers.

Falling and lifting ourselves up, trusting in the Lord, and also in each other, realizing that we are poor, sinful, irascible, ignorant, weary people, beaten by those who are strong, we want to follow Jesus and commit ourselves with charity and love, trusting in God and in our Most Blessed Mother.

CEB's in a suburban colonia.
1970-1985

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Latin America Report

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JPRS-LAM-86-059

9 JULY 1986

LATIN AMERICA REPORT

CONTENTS

ARGENTINA

Government's Handling of Security Services Scored
(Luis Sicilia; EL PERIODISTA, 16-22 May 86) 1

Justicialist Deputy Grosso on Government's Political Tactics
(Carlos Grosso Interview; EL PERIODISTA, 16-22 May 86) 4

Nosiglia Discusses Current, Key Domestic Issues
(Hernan Pereyra; SOMOS, 21 May 86) 7

Columnist Grondona Questions Supreme Council's Verdict
(Mariano Grondona; SOMOS, 21 May 86) 10

BOLIVIA

San Andres Students Score China Immigrants Project
(LOS TIEMPOS, 30 Mar 86) 12

Central Bank President Notes Stability in Reserves Level
(EL MUNDO, 3 Apr 86) 14

Export Prospects Hinge on External Factors
(LOS TIEMPOS, 1 Apr 86) 16

Counterfeit Ring With Possible Drug Connection Uncovered
(EL MUNDO, 1 Apr 86) 18

BRAZIL

Sayad Comments on 1 Percent Inflation Rate Figure for April
(O ESTADO DE SAO PAULO, 16 May 86) 19

First Candidates Throw Hats in Ring for November Elections
(VEJA, 21 May 86) 20

Economic Growth Prompts Need To Import Steel
(O ESTADO DE SAO PAULO, 29 May 86) 26

Future Alcohol Production To Be Lower Than Demand
(O ESTADO DE SAO PAULO, 15 May 86) 27

Briefs
CUT Training in Cuba 28
Sarney Visit to USSR 28

CHILE

Former FECH Leader on Students' Position, Flexibility
(Yerko Ljubetic Interview; COSAS, 15 May 86) 29

Growing Military Involvement Said Changing Political Scenario
(Nibaldo Fabrizio Mosciatti; APSI, 19 May-1 Jun 86) 35

Magallanes Bishop Views State Violence, Constitutional Reforms
(Tomas Gonzalez Interview; APSI, 19 May-1 Jun 86) 43

CUBA

Methods of Determining Consumer Demand Detailed
(Wilfredo Benitez, et al. Interview; BOHEMIA, 11 Apr 86) . 48

At-Home Assault of Woman by 'Workmen' Recounted
(Alfonso Puron; MONCADA, Mar 86) 57

GUATEMALA

Government Announces Meat Price Ceiling
(EL GRAFICO, 22 Apr 86) 61

Agriculture Minister Disagrees With Cerezo's Proposal
(PRENSA LIBRE, 17 Apr 86) 62

Commentary Criticizes Cerezo's Lack of Strategy
(EL GRAFICO, 8 Apr 86) 63

MEXICO

New Minimum Wages Reflect 25.1 Percent Boost
(Humberto Aranda; EXCELSIOR, 22 May 86) 65

PAN Candidate Clouthier Backs Vote for Clergy
(Alejandro Sicairos; EXCELSIOR, 25 May 86) 67

No Verdict Expected in Ramirez Limon Case Until Mid-1987
(Rafael Medina; EXCELSIOR, 28 Mar 86) 68

Three Witnesses Retract Testimony Hurtful to Durazo Moreno
(Rafael Medina Cruz; EXCELSIOR, 23 May 86) 69

Briefs

PAN's Barrio Unhurt After Plane Mishap 71

NICARAGUA

Domestic Trade Minister on Hoarding, Distribution Problems
(LA PRENSA, 12 Mar 86) 72

Livestock, Milk Production Problems Noted
(BARRICADA, 21, 22 Mar 86) 74

Feed Shortage 74
Pricing Policy Criticized 75

Problems of Managua Hospitals Described
(BARRICADA, 23, 26 Apr 86; LA PRENSA, 19 Apr 86) 77

18.6 Percent Infant Mortality, by Elsa Gomez 77
Indiscipline, Absenteeism, by Elsa Gomez 83
300 Million Allocated 87

INDE Elects New Officials, Reports on 1985 Activities
(LA PRENSA, 15, 16 May 86) 88

PERU

Chimbote Bishop Seeks Dialog With Shining Path
(Luis Banbaren Interview; EQUIS X, 26 May 86) 90

VENEZUELA

Successive Polls Show Preference for Andres Perez
(EL DIARIO DE CARACAS, 19 May 86) 95

Eduardo Fernandez 1988 Presidential Candidacy Viewed
(Conrado Contreras; EL DIARIO DE CARACAS, 16 May 86) 99

/9986

ARGENTINA

GOVERNMENT'S HANDLING OF SECURITY SERVICES SCORED

Buenos Aires EL PERIODISTA in Spanish 16-22 May 86 pp 4-5

[Article by Luis Sicilia: "The Sivak Affair and the Swastika"; first paragraph is introduction]

[Text] If in general the administration has shown that it is capable of self-criticism, it has not done so in connection with the series of mistakes it has made in handling and controlling the intelligence services, which pose more of a danger to the government than the harshest opposition.

"There are lots of Aguilars and Guglielminettis in the nooks and crannies of government," said Antonio Troccoli in attempting to explain the complicity of certain Defense Ministry advisers in the kidnaping of Osvaldo Sivak. The interior minister's remark is disturbing, inasmuch as the administration itself is now echoing the same warning that human rights organizations and the democratic opposition have voiced over and over again. Men from the dictatorship's "services" are still operating not only in the underground (planting bombs and attacking individuals and institutions) but also out of certain government agencies.

The administration has unquestionably erred once again in its handling of issues having to do with State security by assigning men from the dictatorship's agency of repression to the investigation into the kidnaping of Osvaldo Sivak. It is like asking a thief to give himself up. Above and beyond this regrettable episode, however, what is the civilian-military right wing trying to do by maliciously interpreting the role of the government officials who made these mistakes? What is the purpose of their criticisms and comments?

--The Radical administration is mixed up with the agency of repression from the past.

--The Radicals have no experience in dealing with the intelligence services. They blunder when they do.

--Intelligence work is for professionals in uniform, not naive, confused civilians.

--The Sivak, Guglielminetti, and Pescarmona affairs and the case of the 12 plotters who were later released show that the administration has to forget about putting a civilian in charge of its projected National Intelligence Center (CNI) and trust Armed Forces professionals alone.

The holdovers from the Process who are entrenched in the military and are receiving moral support from certain pre-council bishops and civilian rightist leaders, think that it is one thing when Raul Alfonsin wants to democratize politics and quite another when he seeks to democratize the intelligence services. They regard themselves as defenders of the Christian West against the "Jewish-Marxist conspiracy that was hatched on 10 December 1983."

It is no accident that three of the five recent kidnap victims were Jews, nor have a series of anti-Semitic attacks on UCR [Radical Civic Union] sites and schools or on Jewish members of the Intransigent Party been coincidental. In the most recent attack on Tuesday the 12th on a Radical committee in the Palermo district, anti-Semitic graffiti were scrawled on a wall, including one that called for the "incineration" of the "Radical synagogue." They were signed by the 2 April Command, which as we know has praised the role that Col Mohamed Ali Seineldin played in the Malvinas war.

Authorized sources assert that the destruction of a crucifix at a recent FUBA [University Federation of Buenos Aires] congress was the work of the unemployed individuals whom Minister Troccoli is fond of talking about to prove to the public that the Jews in Franja Morada and on the Left in general are admitted atheists who are all set to begin persecuting Christians.

The campaign against supposed Jewish influence in the government even went so far as to claim that in light of the repeated failure of his people to control the services, Alfonsin sought professional "advice" from the Mossad (the Israeli intelligence agency). Perhaps echoing a similar rumor, some Radical sources say, a major Federal Police chief suggested to Jorge Sivak, the brother of the missing businessman, that he look into Franja Morada and the Mossad in investigating the kidnaping.

While they carry forward their campaign against the "Radical synagogue," the crusaders from the West have gone about distributing leaflets, spray-painting walls and forging communiques from disinterred guerrilla organizations announcing the start of "the armed revolution." One of the people who comes out with these denunciations right and left, Jesus Iglesias Rouco, regularly writes lengthy broadsides in LA PRENSA about the activities of the ERP [People's Revolutionary Army] and the Montoneros in northern Argentina in collusion with Chilean and Peruvian guerrillas. Not long ago Iglesias Rouco claimed that an ERP meeting had been held in the home of a friend of Congressman Marcelo Stubrin. Iglesias Rouco, like those who spray-paint the walls of the Radical committees, is worried about the Jewish-Marxist conspiracy. Francisco Franco was worried about it for 40 years.

Gen Hector Rios Erenu is also wont to speak out against alleged conspiracies by the forces of world Marxism that have infiltrated political parties and the mass media. In recent days the general reportedly conveyed his concerns to army officers in meetings at barracks in the interior. Speaking of Rios

Erenu, at this issue went to press, there was talk that the current army chief of staff might be replaced by Gen Julian Perez Dorrego, who is currently in charge of Army General Staff logistics and finance. If this rumor is correct, Maj Gen Mario Jaime Sanchez, the army's current assistant commander, would retire.

We would be making a mountain out of a molehill if we thought that such nonsense could ever strike a responsive chord in Argentine society today. At the same time, however, we would be guilty of extreme naivete if we were to downplay the main goal of the campaign: to sow fear, to demonstrate the fragility of democracy and to show how defenseless the country is in the face of its supposed domestic "enemies."

The Jewish-Marxist specter that the government is sheltering is not just the bright idea of a handful of tired old men on their way out. It has, for example, certain precedents among the fascist elements that still survive on the Peronist right wing. The trail can be found in the immediate past in Argentine politics. For example, in 1983, Anibal Gordon, a friend of Herminio Iglesias, Monsignor Plaza, "Beto" Imbelloni and the leadership of the Iron Guard, dreamed of a victory for the Iglesias faction in Buenos Aires Province so that a zone free of Jews and Marxists could be established there.

8743
CSO: 3348/605

ARGENTINA

JUSTICIALIST DEPUTY GROSSO ON GOVERNMENT'S POLITICAL TACTICS

Buenos Aires EL PERIODISTA in Spanish 16-22 May 86 p 10

[Interview with Carlos Grosso by German H. Rodriguez; date and place not given; first paragraph is introduction]

[Text] The Peronist lawmaker from the Federal Capital outlines the main issues that the party's renewal must address, assesses the meeting between the top echelons of the Radical and Peronist parties somewhat ironically and makes several references to President Alfonsin. As far as Grosso is concerned, there are too many "fireworks" in the administration's modus operandi, and one day the wolf might really come, and no one will believe the little boy's cries.

[Question] Some party activists call you a liberal. Others charge that you have ties to business groups. How would you describe yourself?

[Answer] I was a seminarian for 3 years, but that didn't condemn me to a life of celibacy. The fact that at one point in your life you earned a living in a company and that your ability, or lack thereof, enabled you to climb the ladder, does not stigmatize you for life. Moreover, in this country all political groups, from the Right to the Left, have ties with some businessmen. Perhaps some leftwing groups have the advantage of having their own business interests, whether national or transnational, depending on how you want to look at it. Maybe some are one hundred percent pure and want to live in a plastic bubble, but I don't think that there are any virgins in politics, neither here nor anywhere else in the world, as far as ties are concerned.

[Question] The renewal faction of Peronism is said to be preoccupied with the nomination battle, which has caused it to lose the political initiative, above and beyond congressional activity.

[Answer] Congress is where political debate can take place and where we can develop a vision that can have an impact on the judicial and institutional structures of national life. In the Chamber of Deputies Peronism takes action at the pace that our faction sets.

[Question] Did the debate on the foreign debt have any positive impact, for example?

[Answer] Yes it did, even though the end result was negative because the stand that the ruling party took prevented the lawmakers from resolving anything. The debate was important, though, because for the first time Congress was addressing a structural issue involving the country's crisis. Furthermore, it improved Congress' performance because it forced the blocs and the factions to study, work on and draft their position papers. It was also a positive development that Congress came out from behind closed doors and reached into people's homes through television, even if in an imperfect and immature democracy in which the manipulation of the agenda and the selection of segments for broadcast surely made for a biased and unfair representation of the debate.

[Question] What is the revolution of renewal mentioned in the document issued by the renewal faction's Parque Norte congress?

[Answer] It means taking up Peronism's major internal challenges. First comes an updating of our platform so that we can provide answers to the problems facing the country today. Second, a shift from a quaint, dispersed herd to a consistent, permanent political structure, and lastly, putting the commemoration of our founding fathers behind us and honoring them with the emergence of new and real leaders. The three major challenges on the outside are, above all, to reaffirm our commitment to democracy; to achieve credibility in society, in terms of our ability to function as an opposition party first and later in government; and finally, to steadily put distance between ourselves and the Radicals, which does not mean blind opposition but rather arguments, a battle of ideas and debate on programs.

[Question] Is the ruling party providing enough room for such a debate?

[Answer] When it sees the water level rising up to its neck, the ruling party calls for a dialogue, and when we agree to one, realizing that dissent will not plunge the larger system that protects us into a crisis, then it takes us by surprise by launching its own independent campaign, leaving us clinging to a discussion of issues that are overshadowed by the new fireworks that the administration is shooting off. For example, when the Radical Party felt the water up to its neck on economic and social issues and we realized that the pressure cooker might explode, it asked us for a dialogue. We were supposed to give the Radical Party some political breathing room, and the administration was supposed to give the opposition some social breathing room by responding to some of the workers' grievances. Together we were supposed to hammer out measures that would help get us out of the belt-tightening period and towards an overhaul of production and growth. While we were engaged in these discussions, the administration unexpectedly called for the Economic and Social Conference. In spite of this, Peronism stuck by the rules of the game and agreed to take part. Nevertheless, when you listen to Canitrot, you wonder why you should attend the Economic and Social Conference when he says that things are going to remain the same as they have been up to now. It is regrettable that technocrats are setting policy for politicians.

[Question] Was the dialogue adversely affected by this?

[Answer] No, but when we were looking into the possibility of rebuilding channels of communications, the president came out with this change of capital city. This is how the Radical Party normally operates; this is normal behavior for Alfonsin. It's something like the little boy who cried wolf. The danger is that some day the wolf is really going to come, and no one will listen to the little boy.

[Question] Does this course of action have anything to do with the fact that suddenly the administration decided to meet with Senator Vicente Saadi?

[Answer] We in the renewal faction do not have much to say about that. If the administration chooses to speak with a Peronism that is nearing the end of its cycle, instead of choosing the one that is beginning its cycle, then that is their choice. If it would rather choose the Peronism that ridiculed and criticized, it will pay the consequences of being party to that dialogue with that brand of Peronism.

[Question] Could it be interpreted as administration intervention in the Peronist nomination battle?

[Answer] General Peron said that in order for there to be a trap, there has to be one clever fellow and one dumb one. If the Radical Party develops connections inside Peronism, I can't blame that problem on the Radical Party.

[Question] Some of the administration's moves and certain appointments, such as Francisco Manrique's, could be construed as attempts to win over some liberal adherents. What is your assessment of the matter

[Answer] The congressional vote on the foreign debt was clear-cut. The Radical Party had the backing of the Democratic Center Union and the provincial parties on the Center-Right. Moreover, it was interesting to hear all of the examples the Radicals cited of how socialist countries or leftwing governments were proceeding. I don't know whether they were doing battle with the old specters of youth militants or felt they had to show that they were not far from the Left even though they were pursuing rightwing policies. So, its policy of alliances does not seem bad to me, in terms of presumptuousness.

[Question] In your view, what sort of policy of alliances should Peronism pursue with a view towards 1989?

[Answer] Peronism must first recover its own identity, its consistency. Without this preliminary step, any policy of alliances is merely a wager on electioneering and makes no sense. The fronts that Peron put together aimed at broadening the social consensus around a program.

8743
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ARGENTINA

NOSIGLIA DISCUSSES CURRENT, KEY DOMESTIC ISSUES

Buenos Aires SOMOS in Spanish 21 May 86 pp 14-15

[Article by Hernan Pereyra]

[Text] Enrique Nosiglia is without doubt the most influential of Radicalism's leaders. An indispensable component of Alfonsin's entourage, leader of the Federal Capital Coordinating Board, secretary general of the district committee, undisputed party leader in the city of Buenos Aires, and coordinator of the Council for the Consolidation of Democracy, are some of the titles of this enigmatic UCR activist.

The adjective "enigmatic" stems from his by now traditional attitude towards the press. He does not grant interviews, does not allow himself to be photographed and only rarely is he accessible. SOMOS had one of those rare opportunities on the afternoon of Friday the 16th; our talk with Nosiglia at least helped to outline his basic ideas on such crucial issues as an end to trials of military personnel, the bombing of the Radical committees, the agenda for the Second Republic and the Austral Plan.

He is from Misiones, is about 35 years old and has four children; all one needs is 5 minutes with him to realize that his fellow party members respect him greatly. In our group it was all jokes (most about the turnout for the human rights march that will take place this Friday afternoon) until Nosiglia answered the first question. The hubbub then subsided into a respectful silence.

We began, of course, with the bombings. Nosiglia contends that "every time a grassroots demonstration is organized, like the one that we are preparing for 23 May, psychological action is undertaken to halt it, to dampen its impact. The groups that are behind such actions are beating a retreat and acting with increasing desperation, which is why they are now resorting to bombing our committees."

He feels, however, that "the only thing that they are doing is to redouble our efforts and strengthen our determination to move forward with the new agenda that we are proposing for the country. We believe that the members of these groups are the same ones that last year threatened schools, public offices and enterprises for the purpose of destabilizing." He acknowledged that "for the time being there is nothing definite" on the identity of the bombers, but he sticks firmly to his interpretation.

"The fact that these groups were able to set off nine bombs simultaneously gives some idea of their power. But we feel that violence has no place in Argentine society today. There are two reasons why the activities of these groups will come to an end: on the one hand, a grassroots mobilization against and a repudiation of such violence, and on the other, a better and more efficient response from government security agencies, which have major shortcomings in this sphere," asserts the leader of the Coordinating Board and the secretary of the Council for the Consolidation of Democracy.

Nosiglia then talked about the proposal for a Second Republic, which will be officially announced on 23 May at the Radical Party rally at which President Alfonsin will speak. "The main goal of the Second Republic will be to prevent the various power groups that have allocated resources in accordance with their own interests from taking turns in controlling the superstructure of government. They are the reason why there were no ground rules for having access to the superstructure of the government and why the competition for it turned violent. The second goal is to achieve growth so as to meet the people's needs. The third is the march southward, which is more than just that; it also means opening ourselves up to the oceans, particularly the Pacific, around which the modern world's new development poles are located."

He explains that the march southward means moving towards the most accessible passes over the Andes, towards integration with Chile and the use of the ports on the Pacific to reach new markets at lower cost. "This is the reason for Viedma, because from Neuquen southward we can get to Chilean ports more easily, because from that point we have to open ourselves to the ocean to emerge from our confinement."

Nosiglia also asserts that "our problem is how to join, or rather, rejoin the world, but while remaining independent and sovereign, which is not easy." He admits that relations with the superpowers are particularly important as part of this plan and that "those relations demand balance and prudence. It's a dangerous game, because when the empire gives orders, regimes that seemed solid, like Alfredo Stroessner's or Augusto Pinochet's, tremble. We have to be prudent and flexible."

The preparations for the human rights march cause constant interruptions and necessarily prompt the following question: whether involvement in the demonstration implied a change in stance or criticism of the administration. His reply was categorical: "Absolutely not. There might have been some vague points in the instructions to the military prosecutors, but Raul Alfonsin cleared them up in his speech on 1 May to Congress. We firmly maintain that justice is the path to follow."

When asked how we are to proceed down that path, he indicated that "the Federal Court spelled that out in its verdict. The trials are going to continue in accordance with the provisions of Point 30 of the verdict, which stated that corps commanders, heads of clandestine detention centers and chiefs of zones and subzones were accountable, in addition, of course, to the people who performed deviate acts. Our proposal in the area of human rights is the same one we put forth during the election campaign, and we are going to carry it out, we are carrying it out. No one has done so much in so little time in Argentina."

Nosiglia became annoyed when asked whether the launching of the Second Republic would mean changes in administration personnel or new policies for certain sectors. "You're downplaying the importance of the proposal for the Second Republic. There are issues at stake here like true Latin Americanism, in which we are giving evidence of the sort of consistency that Argentina has never had, and a balanced relation with the superpowers to achieve a place in the world. In the face of these things, your question touches on a minor issue."

The Austral Plan had to be our final topic, and Nosiglia's reply was immediately forthcoming. "The members of the economic team, whose policies we completely support, tend because of their training not to take political variables into account. We discuss this issue with them whenever we can, and the omissions are being corrected. We believe that the program of stabilization with growth that is under way is the proper one for this stage and we thus support it without reservations. The Austral Plan fits in perfectly with the political program under way."

Outside, hundreds of young Radicals were getting ready to take part in the march against impunity, amid a large contingent of policemen guarding the Radical Civic Union's headquarters in Buenos Aires at 1600 Tucuman Street. Enrique Nosiglia was going to join them and head the column representing the ruling party. Just minutes before, he had received messages of solidarity from the Intransigents, the Peronists and the Democratic Center Union in connection with the bombings of Radical locales. A notebook showed dozens of calls from major party and administration figures.

8743
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COLUMNIST GRONDONA QUESTIONS SUPREME COUNCIL'S VERDICT

Buenos Aires SOMOS in Spanish 21 May 86 p 22

[Commentary by Mariano Grondona: "The Sentence"]

[Text] A reading of the sentence handed down against the members of the Military Junta who were in charge of the Malvinas war raises certain questions.

The first is why penalties are being imposed solely on Lieutenant General Galtieri, Admiral Anaya and Brigadier General Lami Dozo. Since the task of the Supreme Council of the Armed Forces was to assess the specifically military performance of the commanders and officers who conducted the war, meting out penalties only to the top three does not seem to make much sense. Or are we supposed to believe that none of the men under them were guilty of the sort of negligence or incompetence that ought to be punished? The public has the feeling that in assessing good and bad performance, the council should have taken a broader approach, made fine distinctions and noted that some of the men under the three commanders in chief displayed heroism and competence while others were far from professional. The military verdict does nothing of the sort.

At this point in the analysis, the observer is struck by his first feeling of uneasiness. It so happens that the only real difference between the three commanders and the officers corps is that while the former bore the sole political responsibility for the decision to occupy and defend the islands, the latter only had specifically military responsibilities. We know, however, that a judgment as to whether the Junta had made a political mistake was not within the province of the Supreme Council, inasmuch as it was supposed to evaluate not the policy, which is always debatable, but the specifically military professionalism of the actors in the war.

Might we be looking at a political, not a professional sentence? Our suspicions mount as we examine the reasons behind the varying sentences handed down against each of the members of the Military Junta. Admiral Anaya received the heaviest sentence, 14 years. Why? This time he was told without inhibitions: because he took the hardest line in the negotiations with Haig and Belaunde Terry and thus blocked what would have been, in light of what happened later, a reasonable settlement of the conflict. Nevertheless, if there is anything that is political and not military, it is a hard line in negotiations. Neither here nor anywhere else is a political mistake punishable by law; a political mistake has other consequences, such as condemnation by public opinion or by history.

The far from negligible 8-year prison sentence imposed on Brigadier Lami Dozo causes the same sort of uneasiness. From a military standpoint, weren't the air force and naval air force pilots the ones who made the British fleet tremble and won glory for themselves? What reason is there, then, for giving Lami Dozo a jail sentence other than his involvement in the Junta's political decision-making?

I said before that while the law punishes military incompetence during wartime, political mistakes are condemned by public opinion and by history. The council might accomplish exactly the opposite: while the political blunders that were made during the war are being penalized, the military blunders such as the incompetent defense of the islands will merely be condemned by public opinion and by history.

Behind the sentence lies an argument that a number of military commanders put forth from the outset: that the Junta sent our officers on a "mission impossible" and that, hence, any action that they were to undertake was doomed. This is not true, because even under unfavorable conditions soldiers can fight well or poorly. I think that many will share my conviction that the shortcomings of political leadership aside, a little bit of everything, from the sublime to the ridiculous, happened on and around the islands. The council's verdict does not delve into these vital distinctions, however, leaving us in the dark as to what we were expecting it to do, that is, to carefully indicate to us whom we can admire and whom we can censure for their performance in the theater of operations.

The council's verdict will have an even more serious consequence, though. By lending official support to the argument that nothing could be expected of our professional military personnel in an impossible war, the council is hampering what ought to be the most important mission of the Armed Forces right here and now: to engage in extremely harsh self-criticism to promote the methods that worked and to abolish those that did not during the war. The Anglo-Saxons did as much, which is why they were impervious to Qadhafi's planes and missiles in Libya. They learned their lesson. We apparently are determined to ignore ours.

It is not that I want us to have another war. What I want is for our Armed Forces to decisively improve their training by analyzing the war that we waged. The verdict of the Supreme Council relieves them of this decisive responsibility.

8743
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SAN ANDRES STUDENTS SCORE CHINA IMMIGRANTS PROJECT

Cochabamba LOS TIEMPOS in Spanish 30 Mar 86 p 5

[Text] La Paz, 29 Mar--The immigration project involving 5,000 Chinese families from Hong Kong was harshly criticized during the debate on Chinese immigration held in the auditorium of the Universidad Mayor de San Andres. However, the participants did not present good enough alternatives to eliminate the government project.

Unfortunately, although representatives of the COB [Bolivian Labor Federation] and the Bolivian Confederation of Private Businessmen were invited and confirmed their participation, they did not attend the debate. Delegates of the planters, the Sole Union Confederation of Peasants, the opposition parliament, and the proposer of the project--assistant secretary of migration, Willy Sandoval Moron--came and gave their opinions.

Those who attended the debate were obviously influenced by their political tendencies, especially opposition to the government. They booed and showed complete opposition to the person who proposed the immigration of 5,000 Chinese families. They told him, for example, that the solution to the economic crisis was not to obtain $500 million from the Chinese immigrants, but to stop paying the foreign debt, collect from the multinational enterprises that operate in Bolivia (Tesoro and Occidental), and recover loans.

Eleuterio Romero, leader of the Sole Union Confederation of Peasants, revealed rejection of that project by his organization and the peasants of Bolivia. The consequences of the Korean and Mennonite immigration projects cannot be forgotten. He denounced the fact that the Chinese immigrants would be given the richest areas in the country, like the northeast, to exploit without any control under the pretext of having paid for their citizenship.

He also criticized the origin of the immigrants, recalling that the "businessmen" who wanted Bolivian citizenship were experts in opium traffic and smuggling. They now want shelter in Bolivia where drug traffic cannot be repressed. He stated: "The Chinese immigration project is a humiliation for Bolivia and for the Bolivians since it facilitates infiltration into all social circles."

He suggested preventing the migration of Bolivians to neighboring countries instead of facilitating Chinese migration. However, this suits the government because it will have one less headache.

Alfonso Ferrufino, parliamentarian and member of the MIR [Movement of the Revolutionary Left]-Free Bolivia, said that there has not been reliable information on the Chinese migration project. The text of the agreement released is not at all clear. Also the current activities of those 5,000 Chinese families are not known. He indicated that, by giving Bolivia $500 million as a guarantee for the migration, this group of Chinese citizens will become a greater economic power than the General Treasury of the Nation itself. He pointed out that the project wants to grant a free zone to Chinese citizens, an unacceptable situation from any angle.

Counterpart

A total of 614 factories are dismantled, assembled, and ready to be sent to the country that decides to allow the immigration of 5,000 Chinese families from Hong Kong, according to Dr Willy Sandoval Moron, the proposer of that project. He also stated that these factories could immediately produce canned meat, canned fish, forestry products, balanced feed, instant coffee, beans, and assembled electrical appliances.

He revealed that there are two government currents concerning the project. The first advocates creating an enclave in the Bolivian northeast and the second advocates distributing them throughout the territory based on needs. He said that the Bolivian north--Pando Department and part of the departments of Beni and La Paz--was a likely area for that migration. It covers 130,000 square kilometers but there are only 100,000 inhabitants--that is, 1 inhabitant per square mile.

Dr Sandoval Moron also revealed that the proposal made to Bolivia includes the possibility of establishing a commercial bank with capital of at least $300 million within the first few months. This would mean that current national private banking would become a subsidiary. An airline company and educational complexes for Bolivian citizens and the school-age children of the immigrants would also be established.

He stated that the project was not harmful since it would not affect national interests. He cited that one of the conditions is that a multisectorial team be formed to guarantee that 50 percent of the profits from the investments made in Bolivia can be taken out of the country and the balance will be reinvested. Taxes will be paid to the state only after 5 years. He repeated that $10,000 would be deposited in Central Bank for each Chinese immigrant.

7717
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BOLIVIA

CENTRAL BANK PRESIDENT NOTES STABILITY IN RESERVES LEVEL

Santa Cruz EL MUNDO in Spanish 3 Apr 86 p 1

[Text] La Paz, 2 Apr--Net international reserves in the Central Bank of Bolivia total $388 million, according to the president of the bank. He was optimistic about the current stability of the U.S. dollar in our country.

Javier Nogales' statements came after a meeting with the chief of state. He indicated that there was stability in the country due to confidence achieved through the government's economic policy.

"Stock Exchange"

Referring to Central Bank's "Stock Exchange," he said that the trend in the price of the dollar has been good, especially last week. There was stability at about 1.9 million Bolivian pesos.

He stated that there was a major drop in the "parallel" rate which went from almost 2 million Bolivian pesos to 1.91 million, a small variation of 0.5 percent compared to the official rate.

He repeated that the stability that has been achieved is optimal. He reported that a lower number of U.S. dollars has been sold in the last 2 weeks than other weeks, a decrease of approximately 50 percent.

Economic Policy

The bank official attributed this stability mostly to the government's economic policy which is based more on monetary stability than on the stability of the "Stock Exchange."

He stated that monetary emission has been maintained at acceptable and positive levels. There has been no increase in issue for 9 weeks. This meant no increase in the means of payment so dollar prices were contained at reasonable levels.

Projections and Foreign Currency

Nogales stated that this stability in the price of the dollar is expected to continue. In other words, reserves will not decrease or increase since it is not the government's aim to make this sector grow. He stated that, for this reason, purchases are balanced with sales.

He emphasized that the level of reserves is being maintained at a "constant" since the net is about $380 million, subtracting liabilities from the gross. There is more but the amount that has to be paid this year has not been included.

Nogales stated that this level will not be allowed to drop or increase. It is believed that this balance will be maintained for a few weeks or months.

Finally, he reported that the demand for foreign currency in the "Stock Exchange" decreased. Existing confidence has increased, surely due to the announcements of credits, the arrival of the UN secretary general, and other positive aspects.

7717
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BOLIVIA

EXPORT PROSPECTS HINGE ON EXTERNAL FACTORS

Cochabamba LOS TIEMPOS in Spanish 1 Apr 86 p 5

[Text] La Paz, 31 Mar--Bolivian exports might reach $591 million in 1986, according to projections for the foreign sector of the economy drawn up by Muller y Machicado Asociados, a consulting firm. However, it warned that this could be cut in half if Argentina succeeds in reducing the volume and price of gas, a loss of $180 million, and if tin is not sold or produced, a loss of $100 million.

According to the analysis, this demonstrates Bolivia's vulnerability and dependence on its foreign sector. About 80 percent of all its exports depend on gas and tin and there is an uncertain international tin market.

As to prospects for increased exports from the mining sector--concretely gold--and the agroindustrial sector, it indicated that these do not really depend on the government's good intentions but on investments which would require a long time to mature. "Therefore, significant increases in exports are not foreseeable in the immediate future."

It added: "Smuggling and the production of coca and its derivatives must be mentioned. In 1985, coca leaf production totaled about $600 million, not counting its derivatives. This is equivalent to the value of all exports in the formal economy. This unquestionably has repercussions on the domestic economy of the country, its internal functioning, as well as the supply of goods smuggled into the country."

Export Projections (1986)

Product	Volume (TMF)	Price	FOB Value ($millions)	Percentage
1. Minerals				
Tin (1)	15,000	$3.50/pound	106	18
Zinc	40,000	$0.40/pound	24	4
Antimony	11,000	$1.21/pound	20	4
Others			37	6
Total minerals			187	32

Product	Volume (TMF)	Price	FOB Value ($millions)	Percentage
2. Hydrocarbons (gas)	77,800	$4.52/1,000 cu.ft.	364	62
3. Nontraditional (3)			30	6
Total exports			591	100

Source: Central Bank of Bolivia

(1) It is assumed that COMIBOL [Mining Corporation of Bolivia] will produce 10,000 TMF of tin.

(2) This also includes 11,000 TM of propane and butane gas and 365 TM of oil.

(3) The most important products are coffee and wood.

7717
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BOLIVIA

COUNTERFEIT RING WITH POSSIBLE DRUG CONNECTION UNCOVERED

Santa Cruz EL MUNDO in Spanish 1 Apr 86 p 8

[Text] The Intelligence Department of the Departmental Police captured five members of a dollar counterfeiting ring who might have connections with international drug traffic.

According to information provided by the Departmental Police commander, Colonel Alfredo Camacho, the Intelligence Division under Lieutenant Colonel Fernando Suggel arrested Julio Jorge Nelson Lopez after a series of investigations. Nelson has double nationality, Argentine and Bolivian. He had in his possession 132 sheets with six $100 bills on each, a total of $80,000 in counterfeit dollars.

He said that the Argentine-Bolivian man was apparently the main ringleader or at least the one with contacts with international criminals. The sheets stamped with six $100 bills each are almost perfect. Subjected to a chemical waterproofing process by the second in command of the gang, chemist Carlos Orozco Rojas, they become impossible to detect directly because they acquire almost the same consistency as real bills.

During the press conference, Lt Col Suggel, chief of the Intelligence Division, reported that the discovery was made after a series of investigations following the detection of approximately $300 in counterfeit dollars.

He said that Wilson Vaca Pizarro, Pedro Vega Ibanez, and Justo Saavedra Lizarraga were arrested. They were apparently responsible for putting the forged bills into circulation.

He indicated that they later arrested Julio Jorge Nelson Lopez who had the 132 sheets in his possession and then chemist Carlos Orozco Rojas.

He said that the case is still being investigated since there is the possibility that these violators of our laws had connections with international crime, especially drug traffic.

It is one of the most important cases discovered in recent times because of the nature of the crime.

He stated that those arrested are being interrogated in order to reach the bottom of the case and discover the source of the sheets and also possible connections with foreign drug traffic.

7717
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SAYAD COMMENTS ON 1 PERCENT INFLATION RATE FIGURE FOR APRIL

Sao Paulo O ESTADO DE SAO PAULO in Portuguese 16 May 86 p 28

[Text] Brasilia--Inflation for the month of April was almost 1 percent, compared with deflation of 0.11 percent in the first month of the economic stabilization plan, but if the "fashion effect" were excluded the increase would have been only 0.3 percent, it was revealed yesterday by Planning Minister Joao Sayad, on the basis of data from the Brazilian Institute of Geography and Statistics (IBGE).

According to the planning minister, the return of a positive rate of inflation after 1 month of the cruzado plan with deflation is a "practically irrelevant" event, whether it was 1 percent or 0.3 percent, as the rate for the month of April was strongly influenced by the prices of winter clothing. For this reason, Sayad said he has asked the IBGE to study a computation for the Consumer Price Index (CPI) capable of eliminating the seasonality caused by some items at certain times of the year.

"We must not forget that when the price freeze was decreed on 28 February apparel was being sold at reduced prices and then when the winter clothing came in normal prices were incorporated, along with the usually higher prices of articles for this time of year. Another problem is that in Brazil we are accustomed to incorporating inflation as an accounting operation, forgetting that the indices leave a wide margin of precision, depending upon the methods that are used to measure the rates of public well-being," the minister asserted. "But don't worry," he said, "we will never arrive at the 20 percent that would trigger wage adjustments. Before that happens, I assure you, there will be collective bargaining."

The planning minister revealed that the budget cut for investment by state enterprises will be about 15 billion cruzados (from 115 billion to 100 billion cruzados), promising that this will not affect the rate of growth predicted for the Brazilian economy this year of about 6 to 7 percent. And he denied any disagreement with the ex-president of Petrobras, Helio Beltrao, about the company's investments that would have caused his resignation Wednesday: "Beltrao even called me to say that he was leaving the presidency of Petrobras because at 70 he was getting along in years and had to pay more attention to his family. He said he was going to a beach to play the guitar and take care of his children, as he was tired."

But the planning minister admitted an inclination to use Petrobras funds in the Treasury budget, imposing a tax on the company's financial operations related to its foreign purchases of petroleum, conceding that this tax could reach 25 percent.

8834
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FIRST CANDIDATES THROW HATS IN RING FOR NOVEMBER ELECTIONS

Sao Paulo VEJA in Portuguese 21 May 86 pp 36-38

[Text] Next November's election map began to take more definite shape last week. Last Wednesday seven governors resigned their positions to become candidates for the Constituent Assembly, at a time when the slates of candidates for governor and senator were crystallizing in most states. In some states, such as Rio de Janeiro, the situation is still unpredictable, beginning with the party in power itself, the PDT [Democratic Workers Party]. For the time being, the party's likely candidate is Lieutenant Governor Darcy Ribeiro, while the PMDB [Brazilian Democratic Movement Party] is starting the race with Senator Nelson Carneiro. But both could be replaced at the first bend of the track. "The truth is that the existence today of a Tancredo syndrome cannot be denied," says State Deputy Romualdo Carrasco, fearful that Nelson Carneiro's 76 years will be a handicap in the PMDB campaign. In Minas Gerais, even worse, the PMDB does not even have a most probable name to enter in the electoral arena, while the PFL [Liberal Front Party], its only adversary, is not in much better shape. Everywhere, however, the process of choosing candidates is accelerating and the possibility of surprises is diminishing rapidly.

From a broader point of view, it is possible to speak at this time more about certainties in respect to the campaigns than about uncertainties. In the first place, unlike what would have been expected a while ago, it is not the choice of members of the future Constituent Assembly that dominates the political debate at this time. What is really stirring up political circles is the gubernatorial elections, whose winners will take office in the comfortable position of having more power than the very political machines that sustain them. With the elections, as a matter of fact, the nation is seeing a resurgence of the federation. For the first time in 20 years the federal government is showing no intention of interfering in the election of state governors. In contrast to the ways of his predecessors, President Jose Sarney left the parties with responsibility to define the regional succession processes. "The president is not going to alter his agenda for the sake of political considerations," asserts presidential spokesman Fernando Cesar Mesquita. The ministers of state, however, have been freed by the president to participate in their parties' campaigns. Lastly, from what is shaping up from the north to the south, the elections will be essentially a struggle of the PMDB against the rest.

Changing Assessments

The case of Sao Paulo, the nation's chief political arena, is illustrative. In this territory, the PMDB faces in the center businessman Antonio Ermirio de Moraes, the PTB [Brazilian Labor Party] candidate, who shows in the opinion surveys the same performance as does the PMDB candidate, Lieutenant Governor Orestes Quercia. On the right, the party tangles with Deputy Paulo Maluf, the PDS [Social Democratic Party] candidate, whose resiliency has been surprising. It is not impossible that his candidacy, a chimera when first launched, will develop considerable substance as the campaign progresses. On the left, lastly, there is the challenge of Deputy Eduardo Matarazzo Suplicy, of the PT [Workers Party]. All of these performers can take votes away from the PMDB. Among them, to confuse the chessboard, circulates Sao Paulo Mayor Janio Quadros, who flirts with one and then with the other, putting off the wedding date as long as possible, at which time he will give his support to whoever offers him the most attractive dowry.

"Janio would help us, as he could carry Ermirio's name to the outlying regions," says ex-minister Roberto Gusmao, Ermirio's campaign manager. Last Tuesday Janio had lunch with Ermirio and at this meeting tried to keep the conversation away from the subject of the gubernatorial succession. He spent the whole time talking about his recent trip to the United States and Europe. "Antonio Ermirio is very anxious, and would like to have a commitment soon, but the ways of politics are always slow and require patience," commented Gastone Righi, leader of the PTB in the Chamber, after the meeting.

The following day Janio met with Maluf and encouraged him to step up his negotiations with the Sao Paulo PFL, which could eventually support him. "We have everything we need for such an agreement," Maluf believes. "Those in the PFL are all my friends." As can be seen, the horserace in Sao Paulo, practically settled in terms of names, can provide some surprises in terms of finishes. "On our side, everything is wrapped up, and we're only waiting for the campaign to get started," says Deputy Airton Soares, leader of the PMDB left, aware that the dynamic of the campaign in the months closest to the election will decide everything.

For the country as a whole, the PMDB hopes that the popular goodwill that resulted from Sarney's Cruzado Plan will indirectly bathe all its candidates. What is odd is that these candidates, all sheltered under the same party umbrella and carrying the same flag of economic stabilization, show various faces. In Alagoas, for example, the party is going with ex-Maluf supporter Fernando Collor at the head of its slate, while in Mato Grosso its candidate, Carlos Gomes Bezerra, is supported by the PCB [Brazilian Communist Party] and the PCdoB [Communist Party of Brazil]. In view of these diverse candidates, it is becoming increasingly difficult to distinguish a face for a party that in truth never had one. It is possible that the PMDB came out of the elections, in the case of its victories, with the face of the governor it elected.

In contrast, the PT is the same from the north to the south, although its importance is as variable as the tricks to deprive itself of electoral results. It is strong in the state capitals of Sao Paulo, Goias and Ceara and weak almost everywhere else, but nowhere would the PT consider an alliance with, for example, the PFL, a party that the PMDB is trying to gather into its fold whenever possible. "Our objective is to construct the party and organize the workers," says Luis Ignacio Lula da Silva, president of the PT. The PT does not make alliances because it does not want to. The PMDB, officially given the power to make alliances with the PFL, through the bridge of the Democratic Alliance, does not make them because it cannot.

Minas Gerais Frying Pan

The Democratic Alliance has become a joke everywhere except in the states where the PDS still has fire power, as is the case in Maranhao, where the gubernatorial candidate Epitacio Cafeteira is leading a campaign in the name of the Alliance against candidate Joao Castelo, of the PDS. This is a comfortable situation for President Sarney. Being from Maranhao, he has an inherent reason for entering the campaign. Being loyal to the Alliance, he gains another reason to do battle against his local adversary, Joao Castelo. In Bahia, the PMDB, which is running ex-minister Waldir Pires, is waging a fierce battle with the PFL. Last week Governor Joao Durval decided to throw all the weight of the state machine in favor of the PFL candidate, Josaphat Marinho. Result: 40,000 state jobs began to be handed out by PFL deputies. In Minas Gerais the PDS still exists, but Governor Helio Garcia, of the PMDB, is gradually incorporating its members. Last week, for example, the governor delivered to the PMDB ex-deputy Chrispim Jacques Bias Fortes. On the same occasion, the PFL's Israel Pinheiro Filho made his switch to the governor's party official.

In the opposite direction, Garcia is trying to fry the PFL for the second time in the same grease. Last year, in the mayoralty elections, the governor let the PMDB become a kettle in which 10 local politicians of local prominence fought for the candidacy, while the PFL began its campaign with Mauricio Campos as candidate, very strong in the early rounds of the opinion polls. At the last minute, when the PMDB didn't know what to do and couldn't come up with a candidate, Garcia went to the kettle and pulled out the name of Councilman Sergio Ferrara and, with him, cut the throat of Minister Aureliano Chaves' PFL. This time, in a repeat performance, Garcia is waiting to decide upon a PMDB candidate to succeed himself.

Dance of the Vampires

The PFL, in turn, threatens to get ahead of itself with its support for the candidacy of Senator Itamar Franco, who last week left the PMDB to join the Liberal Party (PL). Minister Aureliano has not run in an election for 16 years and in none of them did he get over 50,000 votes. In other words, there isn't a single person in Minas Gerais under 33 who has voted for the minister. His party, as is known, is also weak at the polls. Helio Garcia may even lose in the November round, which is not probable. Interestingly, however, he is using the same artifice that worked in the first round and the PFL is not acknowledging the coup.

Elsewhere in the country there is a dance of the vampires in which, for example, Deputy Nilson Gibson, who was said to be a supporter of Paulo Maluf's candidacy for president, is supporting today in Pernambuco leftist Miguel Arraes, PMDB candidate for governor. It is customary to attribute such unexpected alliances to a supposed depravity of the political class. On the contrary, the possibility of changing one's opinion or of stifling it for a certain period of time occurs quite frequently in very different circles, as in the military, for instance. That is exactly what Gen Aurelio de Lyra Tavares did in April 1964, in proclaiming himself a revolutionary from the beginning, after having criticized General Castello Branco because he condemned the actions of the Joao Goulart government, during March. As Marshall Cordeiro de Farias said in his memoirs, "the army went to bed supporting Jango and woke up as revolutionaries." The difference is that in an open regime such alliances of convenience are made in the open, as in the case of Arraes and Gibson. In an empty exercise, it can even be imagined that Gibson would end up supporting the ideas of Arraes. But any voter of Pernambuco knows that only a fool could suppose that some day Arraes will become a supporter of Nilson Gibson.

Decided

In 12 states, the gubernatorial candidates are already practically decided. In 7 of them the PMDB, the only party to be running in all 12, is doing well so far. In the following paragraphs, the parties shown are those to which the candidates are affiliated.

Sao Paulo

Candidates: Orestes Quercia, PMDB; Antonio Ermirio, PTB; Eduardo Suplicy, PT; Paulo Maluf, PDS. The PMDB is trying to unite around Quercia, while Antonio Ermirio and Maluf are competing for the support of the PFL and of Janio Quadros. In the capital, Suplicy is the favorite.

Parana

Candidates: Alvaro Dias, PMDB; Alencar Furtado, PMB; Emmanuel Appel, PT. Dissident Alencar Furtado, who was allied with the PFL and the PDT, will confront the prestige of ex-governor Jose Richa. For the time being, the advantage belongs to the PMDB.

Rio Grande do Norte

Candidates: Geraldo Melo, PMDB; Joao Faustino, PDS; Cortez Pereira, PDT. To defeat the coalition of the PFL with the PDS, the PMDB of Minister Aluizio Alves opened the door to the heirs of his enemy, Senator Dinarte Mariz. The PDT may decide the outcome.

Amazonas

Candidates: Amazonino Mendes, PMDB; Arthur Virgilio Neto, PSB. Supported by Governor Gilberto Mestrinho, the state political boss, Amazonino Mendes is the favorite as of now. Virgilio Neto has drawn the support of the PDS and the PDT. [PSB is the Brazilian Socialist Party.]

Paraiba

Candidates: Humberto Lucena, PMDB; Jose Carlos da Silva, Jr., PFL. To face the lieutenant governor, Jose Carlos da Silva, the PMDB revived the opposition front. In straw polls, Lucena is ahead.

Piaui

Candidates: Alberto Silva, PMDB; Antonio Freitas Neto, PFL. Alberto Silva has made an alliance with his archenemies, the PDS. Even so, he will have a spirited contest with Antonio Freitas Neto, of the PFL.

Bahia

Candidates: Waldir Pires, PMDB; Josaphat Marinho, PFL. The election will be by plebiscite. Pires is leading in the polls. Josaphat has the support of Minister Antonio Carlos Magalhaes.

Goias

Candidates: Henrique Santillo, PMDB; Darci Accorsi, PT; Mauro Borges, PDC [Christian Democratic Party]. The PMDB has been split with the launching of dissident Mauro Borges by the PDC with the support of the PFL and the leftists. Darci Accorsi of the PT is strong in Goiania.

Mato Grosso do Sul

Candidates: Marcelo Miranda, PMDB; Ludio Coelho, PTB. Candidate Marcelo Miranda expects the support of the PFL, which would consolidate the Democratic Alliance in the state. Some of the PFL are thinking of supporting Ludio Coelho.

Sergipe

Candidates: Jose Carlos Teixeira, PMDB; Antonio Carlos Valadares, PFL; Tania Magno, PT. The PMDB has allied itself with Augusto Franco, who had been the state's political boss until 1982. Governor Joao Alves and the leftists, except for the PT, support the PFL.

Rondonia

Candidates: Jeronimo Santana, PMDB; Odacir Soares, PFL; Izu Feitosa, PT; Zuca Marcolino, PSB. Jeronimo Santana, ex-mayor of Porto Velho, has traditional voter support and the backing of Governor Angelo Angelim. The rickety PDS is supporting Odacir Soares.

Maranhao

Candidates: Epitacio Cafeteira, PMDB; Joao Castelo, PDS; Delta Martins, PT; Joao Batista Ericeira, PL. By the hand of President Jose Sarney, Deputy Epitacio Cafeteira became the candidate of the Democratic Alliance. The divided PDS has a strong candidate in Joao Castelo.

Undecided

Ceara

Candidates: Tasso Jereissati, PMDB; Haroldo Coelho, PT. The big contest will be between the PMDB and political bosses Adauto Bezerra, Virgilio Tavora and Cesar Cals. Bezerra is likely to be the candidate of the PFL.

Mato Grosso

Candidates: Carlos Gomes Bezerra, PMDB. The PFL and the PDT, who are likely to launch candidates, have not yet made their choice. Those most often mentioned are federal deputies Bento Porto (PFL) and Gilson de Barros (PDT).

Santa Catarina

Candidates: Pedro Ivo Campos, PMDB; Vilson Kleinubing, PFL. The situation in this state is undecided only because Governor Esperidiao Amin, of the PDS, does not know whether he will support the PFL candidate or launch a candidate of his own.

Pernambuco

Candidates: Miguel Arraes, PMDB. The PFL is split between two probable candidates: sugarmill owner Jose Mucio Monteiro and Joaquim Francisco, ex-mayor of Recife. The PDT is likely to ally itself with the PFL.

Espirito Santo

Candidates: Elcio Alvares, PFL; Arlindo Vilaschi, PT. The PMDB has not yet decided between Senator Jose Ignacio and Federal Deputy Max Mauro, who has the support of ex-governor Gerson Camata.

Acre

Candidates: Mario Maia, PDT. The PDT, PDS and PFL have united to oppose the PMDB in the elections. The PMDB, however, has not decided whether to run former Rio Branco mayor Flaviano Melo or Federal Deputy Jose Ruy Lino.

Unpredictable

Para

The PMDB already has the support of the PTB, but does not yet have a candidate. Senator Helio Gueiros and former Belem mayor Almir Gabriel are mentioned most often for the post.

Minas Gerais

Governor Helio Garcia is delaying the PMDB decision as long as possible. For this reason, Senator Itamar Franco left the PMDB and joined the PL.

Rio Grande do Sul

Senator Pedro Simon wants to be the PMDB candidate. Deputy Nelson Marchezan is the PDS favorite. Brizola is also trying to unite with Marchezan.

Rio de Janeiro

Brizola's candidate, Darcy Ribeiro, has not yet taken off. Nelson Carneiro, of the PMDB, is in the same position and could be replaced. Wellington Moreira Franco is running on the outside.

8834
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BRAZIL

ECONOMIC GROWTH PROMPTS NEED TO IMPORT STEEL

Sao Paulo O ESTADO DE SAO PAULO in Portuguese 29 May 86 p 27

[Text] Brasilia--The nation's need to import steel is one of the first practical effects of the resumption of economic growth. That is the finding of the executive secretary of CONSIDER (National Council for Nonferrous Metals and Steel), William Cantal, after consulting the major consuming sectors of cold-rolled steel--electro-electronics, automobiles and auto parts, among others--which are growing rapidly, while the steel mills operate at full capacity. According to estimates by ANFAVEA [National Association of Automotive Vehicle Manufacturers], production of automobiles is likely to increase 21 percent this year and that of trucks and tractors, 43 percent.

Another point made by Cantal was that the nation must invest in expanding the steel sector. In his opinion, if this is not done, "at the beginning of the next decade we will be in the same position as during the 1973-74 period, when we imported tonnage equivalent to the output of two steel mills, a total of $5 billion, because of decisions not made by the government." He asserted that it is essential to finish Stage III of COSIPA [Sao Paulo Iron and Steel Company] and set up new mills, "so as not to run the risk of importing the output of a mill the size of USIMINAS [Minas Gerais Iron and Steel Mills, Inc.] every year."

Cantal announced that the study of the need to import cold-rolled steel will be finished by the end of next week. He believes that Brazil's entry into this area of imports is a permanent thing, "as expansion of steel mills that make this product is not contemplated." Output of cold-rolled steel is likely to surpass 1.8 million tons this year and imports of the product are likely to be authorized beginning in the second half of this year.

According to the CONSIDER executive secretary, the demand for cold-rolled steel is likely to be 20 percent greater than in 1985. Before the economic stabilization plan, the forecast was for only 8 percent growth. In Cantal's opinion, the only problem related to the product's importation is the price, which is about 30 percent higher in the foreign market. For this reason, he thinks that "unless there is some type of incentive, imports will be held to the minimum necessary."

Copper

CONSIDER, CACEX (Foreign Trade Department of the Bank of Brazil) and representatives of the copper sector approved a change yesterday in the system for importing copper. From now on, import licenses will be authorized only after purchasing the output of Caraiba Metals, a company affiliated with the BNDES (National Bank for Economic and Social Development). At present, the price of a ton of copper produced by Caraiba is $2,380, while a ton of imported copper costs $1,700.

8834
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FUTURE ALCOHOL PRODUCTION TO BE LOWER THAN DEMAND

Sao Paulo O ESTADO DE SAO PAULO in Portuguese 15 May 86 p 25

[Text] Brasilia--For the first time since the National Alcohol Program (PROALCOOL) was established in 1975, the nation's output of alcohol will be lower than demand during the next 3 years, the president of COPERSUCAR (Sao Paulo Cooperative of Sugar and Alcohol Producers), Werther Annichinno, announced yesterday. According to him, the estimated consumption for 1987 is 14 billion liters, while the next crop allows for an output of only 12 billion liters.

Although production will be lower than consumption by automobiles, Annichinno asserts that there will be no problems in supplying the domestic market. This is because the nation currently has a surplus of 2 billion liters of alcohol, besides a strategic stockpile of 1.3 billion liters. He believes that the surplus of the product will be absorbed in 3 years.

In his opinion, the only problem that could occur would depend upon whether the nation reaches a favorable agreement with the United States for exporting alcohol. Brazil has been trying to reach this agreement since the administration of the former minister of industry and commerce, Roberto Gusmao, as with the reduction of tetraethyl lead in U.S. gasoline there is a need for the United States to replace it by using alcohol imported from Brazil. The president of COPERSUCAR asserted that if a favorable agreement is really reached between the two countries Brazil will not be in a position to export the contemplated amount of alcohol, which is 4 billion liters.

The sugarcane harvest plan is delayed, according to Annichinno, because of the drought in the South-Central region. Starting this year, the sector's crop plan will be multiyear (3 years) and is to be prepared at the beginning of next week. He said that the decrease in output was 10 percent in Sao Paulo and sugarcane production is likely to be about 120 million tons. The previous forecast was 130 million tons.

Reformulation

The COPERSUCAR president yesterday asked the secretary general of the Ministry of Industry and Commerce to modify the council that will be set up by the IAA [Sugar and Alcohol Institute] to prepare the sector's crop plan and outline the goals for exporting sugar. According to Annichinno, this council must have equal participation between government and private enterprise. According to the proposal, the government's participation is to be two-thirds and that of private initiative one-third. He also asked the secretary general for immediate privatization of sugar exports.

8834
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BRIEFS

CUT TRAINING IN CUBA--Three labor leaders connected with the Sole Central Organization of Workers (CUT) have been in Cuba since the end of February attending a training course for union leaders at the Lazaro Pena School in Havana. They are leaders of the Maranhao Civil Construction Workers union, the Para Rural Workers union and the Footwear Industry Workers union of Franca, Sao Paulo, and are the second group of Brazilians to attend Cuban schools. The first class returned shortly before Christmas, after 2 months of daily classes sponsored by the Castro government. In both cases, CUT and the unions paid for the trip to Peru and the Cuban Government paid for the rest of the trip and for the students' food and lodgings. [Text] [Sao Paulo VEJA in Portuguese 9 Apr 86 p 28] 8834

SARNEY VISIT TO USSR--Brasilia--The Soviet Union was confirmed yesterday as one of the next countries to be visited by President Jose Sarney, on a date to be set. The invitation, accepted immediately by the president, was transmitted by Ambassador Vladimir Tchernichov during a 15-minute audience yesterday afternoon. Tchernichov, who is leaving Brazil, took farewell of the president and delivered to him a copy of the speech made by the secretary general of the Communist Party, Mikhail Gorbachev, on television Tuesday, reporting on the damages caused by the accident at the Chernobyl nuclear power station and the measures being taken to limit its consequences. [Text] [Sao Paulo O ESTADO DE SAO PAULO in Portuguese 16 May 86 p 5] 8834

CSO: 3342/128

CHILE

FORMER FECH LEADER ON STUDENTS' POSITION, FLEXIBILITY

Santiago COSAS in Spanish 15 May 86 pp 40-41

[Interview with Yerko Ljubetic, the former president of the Student Federation of Chile (FECH), by Karen Poniachik; date and place not given; first five paragraphs are introduction]

[Text] His father is a leftist; his mother, a Frei supporter. By virtue of genetics, Yerko Ljubetic had to turn out in between, in the progressive faction of the Christian Democratic Party. Like most of the young people who have been FECH leaders, he is combative, rebellious, and charismatic and has a strong personality. He is also a sensitive young man, however, and, though he might not seem it, quite shy.

He began to get involved in politics when he started studying law at the University of Chile. As a first year delegate and later as president of the Student Center, he remembers that era as one of tension, emotion and achievement, as well as difficulty. It was around this time that he was sent off to Dalcahue in Chiloe after he was arrested at a demonstration at the courthouse. "It was a decisive experience in the sense that I had a lot of time to think about and deepen the commitment I had already made."

He had previously been arrested, along with other Christian Democrats, for joining hands around the statue of Arturo Alessandri during the plebiscite campaign in 1980.

He headed the Constitutional Assembly that drafted the bylaws of the current federation, of which he became president in 1984. He now serves as the general coordinator of the Organizing Committee of the Second National University Congress and in that capacity recently toured several Eastern and Western European countries along with MDP [Popular Democratic Movement] leader David Escanilla.

It was in Finland that they were called upon to take part in a debate as to whether the firm Outokumpu Oy should invest in Chile. "We explained to the people in that country what the denationalization of copper mining would mean for our potential future development."

[Question] What was the purpose of the trip?

[Answer] It had a dual purpose. We were representatives of the Chilean university student movement and sought to publicize its situation, history, challenges and needs. The idea was to establish official relations in each of the countries we visited with their student groups. Secondly, we spoke out directly on the situation in our country, especially in the area of human rights and domestic politics.

[Question] Who financed the trip?

[Answer] The various national student unions paid for both our transportation and living expenses.

[Question] It is my understanding that the purpose of the trip was to raise funds for the University Congress to be held in May...

[Answer] That was one of the purposes, but with the limitation that we are going to stage the congress very soon. Unfortunately, the tangible results of this trip are not going to be felt until the medium term, after the congress.

[Question] And what is the purpose of this gathering of university students?

[Answer] To develop more efficient channels for coordination than exist at present and to see whether we can make some sort of organizational headway. We also want to see whether we can summarize the common grievances of university students and the options being proposed as realistic, fair answers. Lastly, we might be able to develop initiatives for mobilizations both in the university and in connection with the national struggle for democracy.

[Question] Why hasn't this congress been publicized? Might it not be held?

[Answer] No. We are confident that it will come off, in spite of the obstacles, which are financial.

[Question] The fact is that there are political problems in addition to financial ones. Talks between the Christian Democrats and the MDP have come to a standstill, especially on the "paths"...

[Answer] I don't think so. There is no political problem inside the student movement that we have not faced before and that we have not been able to surmount. Such problems, having to do with the legitimate differences between the various sectors of the student movement, have not meant breakdowns or changes in the programs. When we say that we believe in student unity, we are not talking about the differences of opinion we might have; we are saying that we can face up to these differences and develop common ground that can be expanded upon.

[Question] But to what extent are these differences "insurmountable," as the president of your party himself said?

[Answer] The president of my party was not talking about the student movement. He was talking strictly about the political relations between the two organizations nationwide. There are obviously differences in the university student sector, but they are not "insurmountable." On the contrary. This is a social sector that has its own opinions and operates with quite a bit of autonomy. The most important unifying experiences have been based on mature solutions to these differences and specific gains.

[Question] How much autonomy can the student movement have when in last year's FECH elections the National Board of the Christian Democratic Party intervened directly in putting together the list?

[Answer] There was no direct or indirect intervention by the party's National Board. All decisions were made by the members of University Christian Democracy, no one else. That is categorically certain.

Disobedience and Ungovernability

[Question] Do you continue to push the idea of ungovernability?

[Answer] More than ever. It is a viable alternative for channeling the activities of the student movement in all federations. I am convinced that this is the way that students can have a real chance to make headway in ending intervention in the universities and to make a substantial contribution to the cause of democracy in the country.

[Question] It would seem that this is not the position that the student movement has taken in recent times. The Concepcion University Students Federation has opted for governability and negotiations, as have the leaders of Catholic University and its regional branches...

[Answer] Both universities clearly demonstrate the viability of the position that I espouse. The FEC based its opposition to the rector delegate of Concepcion University on this strategy, and it was none other than the federation that called for the ungovernability that shut down university activities for quite some time. This forced the authorities to yield and to begin looking for solutions to the conflict. The policy of ungovernability does not rule out a priori any form of negotiation; rather, it assumes that pressure and mobilization can pave the way for taking the machinery of repression apart.

[Question] What new things are young people proposing today? In the manifesto that 12 political opposition youth groups signed you are calling for the same things as always, which are also what the old leadership classes are calling for...

[Answer] The 12-group board, which comprises practically all of the country's democratic youth organizations, is an unprecedented experience and an illustration of the ability and maturity of Chile's new political generations. Their action has dealt a blow to the futile discussions in which the opposition parties were mired. This in itself is a tremendous contribution that I am sure is going to lead to many more accomplishments for the cause of democracy. The ability of these 12 groups to organize rallies heralds the emergence of new generations that realize that only joint efforts can rebuild a future democracy.

[Question] But these demonstrations do more to harden the regime's line than to further your grievances. Won't you have to change your strategy then?

[Answer] We all take it for granted that as the regime gets into more anxious situations, it will tend to harden its line and take stronger action against those who are committed to democracy. Under no circumstances are we going to abandon the only tool we have to struggle against the government, which is rallies.

[Question] In this regard, the youth manifesto mentions the principle of unqualified respect for human rights. Is it respecting human rights to throw acid at the Carabineros, as happened recently in a university department during a rally?

[Answer] We have to listen to what the heads of the departments who are supposedly involved in this situation have indicated. Such behavior has been widely denounced by democratic sectors not only in that department but in all universities. We unquestionably condemn such behavior, but we cannot do so without calling attention to the cause of such regrettable incidents, which is basically the indiscriminate repression against students.

[Question] Would the repression thus justify any sort of response from the students?

[Answer] No, and this is why we condemn the incident. But I think it would be unfair to condemn without referring to the underlying problem.

[Question] In this regard, is their agreement among students on their methods of mobilization and action?

[Answer] Basically yes. We can come to terms around proposals such as disobedience and ungovernability. Once we agree on them, we do everything necessary so that each mobilization is conducted accordingly and in keeping with the standards that the student movement itself has set forth.

[Question] But there is disagreement on methods...

[Answer] In specific instances, I would say. But in many other cases students have been able to act flexibly and realistically enough to free themselves of prejudices and agree on forms of mobilization.

[Question] Yet the various groups that make up the student movement seem to be breaking up...

[Answer] It is a mistake to say that situations that must be confronted are indicative of a breakup...

[Question] It seems that the leftists like you more than the Christian Democrats themselves do...

[Answer] I don't think so. I have always been consistent with what I have wanted to do, and I have not cared too much about the support that this might drum up in one sector or another. If this has been the case, it in no way undoes my status as a Christian Democrat.

Lack of Security for Investors

[Question] What do you think of Minister Marquez de la Plata's statements about your involvement in a campaign against foreign investment in Chile?

[Answer] They are essentially demagogic. Mr Marquez de la Plata has concealed the real reasons why foreign investment has fallen off sharply in our country and he has pointed his finger at the factors that are not the most important ones. The main reason why foreign investors are not doing business with the Chilean Government is that it cannot offer security. The lack of security is both political and economic. The current system provides no guarantees to investors. The lack of security also has to do with the international image of the Chilean regime. It is completely discredited and bereft of credibility, for reasons having to do with the very nature of the regime, not with alleged smear campaigns by democratic sectors or leaders.

[Question] It could also be uncertainty about or fear of what may come after this government...

[Answer] Uncertainty about their interests because they know that any democratic government that succeeds this one is going to safeguard the national interests, unlike what the military regime has done for 12 years. In this regard, many opposition leaders have spoken clearly: it would be absurd for us Chilean democrats to advocate opposition to all forms of foreign investment. What we are saying is that it must be in keeping with the country's real interests.

[Question] What mark did you get in passing the mining law course?

[Answer] (after almost a minute of silence)...I don't remember. A five, I think.

[Question] The argument is that although you're doing this to combat the regime, you're also hurting the people. A lease to the firm Outokumpu Oy meant jobs for Chileans...

[Answer] That is untrue. The purpose of foreign investment is not to create more jobs or to provide real benefits to Chileans. Its goal is liquid funds and foreign exchange as quickly as possible, precisely by jeopardizing the rational, domestic development of these resources for the benefit of Chileans.

[Question] Does our country have the capital to develop this wealth rationally and domestically?

[Answer] Yes. I have stated that I have no doubt that the democratic government that succeeds this one, among other challenges, is going to have to undo the situations that are jeopardizing our chances for future development. One of these challenges will be to recover all of the mineral resources that are strategically important for the country's development.

[Question] On what authority do you make that statement? Are you going to serve in a future democratic government?

[Answer] I made my opinion known, and in so doing I have no reason to think about whether I might serve in a future government. That would be most presumptuous. This is simply the opinion that would be shared by anyone who is concerned not only about the present but also the future of the country. The government that takes over from this one must be able to meet these kind of challenges boldly and resolutely to lift Chile up from the deep crisis into which this government has plunged it.

[Question] But isn't it reprehensible to pressure a government by way of another government or a foreign company?

[Answer] Absolutely not. Time and again we have pursued our ongoing policy of directly pressuring and mobilizing against this regime. It is absolutely moral and necessary for all Chilean democrats who can do so to appeal to governments, companies and international organizations. We did this not only in Finland but also with the authorities to whom we had access in many of the countries that we visited. It is a moral as well as political duty. Some day history will record how different the interest of the homeland is from the interest of the regime that governs us today...This is why I am totally at ease with what I was called upon to do overseas.

8743
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CHILE

GROWING MILITARY INVOLVEMENT SAID CHANGING POLITICAL SCENARIO

Santiago APSI in Spanish 19 May-1 Jun 86 pp 4-9

[Two-part article; first part by Nibaldo Fabrizio Mosciatti: "The Militarization of Politics"; second part by the APSI team: "Conflicts in La Moneda"]

[Text] As during the state of siege in November 1984, military personnel (with initial reluctance on the part of FACH [Chilean Air Force]), officials from Investigations, CNI [National Information Center] men and the Carabineros, conducted a joint operation to stage the first raid on a shantytown on 29 April in La Legua. Most people were shocked and condemned the raids. As this issue went to press, 33 shantytowns had been raided and 94,000 people had been affected, according to information from the Chilean Human Rights Commission. The news was starting to be treated like just another statistic. "It seems that Goebbels, the Nazi propaganda chief, is in La Moneda," remarked the acting president of Democratic Intransigence, Manfred Max-Neef.

Political analysts, who asked that their names not be revealed, have mentioned the possibility of a "palace coup" or a "bloodless coup," which in a few words would mean that the regime would harden its line "by ignoring its own ground rules as set forth in the 1980 Constitution."

This has largely been the hallmark of the almost 13-year old regime now: to repeat moves that are initially condemned but that by dint of repetition, without any other branch, such as the Judiciary, speaking up against them, wind up becoming daily political practice. The month of May illustrated as much. The steady militarization of politics by General Pinochet has altered the scenario and the manner of conducting politics in the country, according to most political leaders.

Fear and insecurity are in the air, fueled by the military personnel with painted faces who raid shantytowns or grab someone at the entrance to a subway station. And then there are the civilians with colored arm bands who come to arrest people, kicking in their doors, as on 8 May when they took away 27-year old Susana Bugueno Munoz, who was 3-months pregnant, stealing 57,000 pesos plus jewels and accusing her of involvement in the murder of Carabinero Miguel Vasquez Tobar.

It is no accident that General Pinochet is currently attaching top priority to his contacts with army units (the Santiago military garrison, the 13th, and the Arica military commands, 14th). This is seen as the government's desire to close ranks with its hard-core supporters, inasmuch as it is the army that strongly backs the general's plan to remain in power without changing the presidential succession mechanism.

What worries General Pinochet, aside from the growing expressions of grassroots unrest, is the increasingly obvious dissent being voiced inside the government (see next part of article). So, to make good on the assertion that Minister Cuadra made at the beginning of the year ("We have to regain the initiative," were his words), the chief executive is playing the card that he has always had up his sleeve, the one in fact that put him in power: military force.

No Vatican Observer

The offensive took shape in the streets, but not much time passed before it struck one of the touchiest fronts for the regime: human rights violations. The government wanted a military tribunal to investigate the Vicarship of Solidarity because of the aid that it lent to Hugo Gomez, who was allegedly wounded during a confrontation in which a Carabinero and an attacker were killed (On the evening of Friday the 16th the Manuel Rodriguez Patriotic Front denied over the phone its involvement in the incident). The bid to link the Santiago archbishopric's group with terrorism prompted immediate solidarity with the vicarship, as manifested on Saturday 10 May when the Human Rights Department of the Federation of Professional Associations paid homage to the organization in the presence of more than 1,200 professionals and 15 ambassadors, including Harry Barnes from the United States.

During the demonstration Vicar Santiago Tapia quoted a paragraph from the Vatican's document on Christian Freedom and Liberation, which indicates that "recourse to criminal methods...will never be acceptable, methods such as reprisals against towns, torture, terrorism and calculated provocation, which cause the death of individuals during mass demonstrations." Departing from his prepared speech, the vicar commented: "As far as I know, no Vatican observer came before these words were written."

He went further. Recalling Pope John XXIII's encyclical "Pacem in Terris," in which the pontiff asserts that man has intrinsic rights and duties, Monsignor Santiago Tapia read the paragraph in which the papal document states: "The government officials who do not recognize or who violate human rights are failing in their duty, and moreover, there is no obligation whatsoever to obey the orders that they issue."

The Lord of May Too

Cardinal Fresno made his much commented on statement on Thursday 8 May, in the wake of the raids: "Mr Cuadra should not twist what I say and further confuse the public with his statements." It came after the minister secretary general of government had asserted that the prelate had not called for an end to the raids in a phone conversation with Interior Minister Ricardo Garcia. Fresno had.

The government's reaction, statements aside, was further raids, which it justified as being pursuant to a sweeping order to investigate from the Military Prosecutor's Office under the weapons control law.

According to opposition leaders, the regime is thus attempting to neutralize all potential rallies or anything similar. Even the "Lord of May" procession that is held every 13 May through downtown Santiago was called off after a Carabineros officer so recommended to the pastor of the Church of the Augustine Fathers.

The opposition, meanwhile, had wagered on a resolution of the crisis through "Chile Demands" and the Civilian Assembly. Twenty days after it put forth the initiative, however, it had heard nothing but silence from the government. The deadline for the authorities to respond to the "Demand" is the 31st of this month.

The Christian Democrats, interpreting the political substance of the document from the social organizations, has called for free and informed elections. From now until 31 May there will be at least two events that will reveal the government's mood: the march on 20 May in the Alameda that has been called by the National Command of Workers, and the International Parliamentary Assembly for Democracy in Chile, which several political figures have proposed in recent days, which will be held from 19 to 21 May and which will be attended by lawmakers from several countries.

Foreign Minister Jaime del Valle gave signs of tolerance towards the latter event on Tuesday the 13th when he said that he had no objection to authorizing it if it is conducted in "a lofty spirit" ("No attempt is being made to break the peace nor is it specifically addressing issues that it should not"). But Minister Francisco Cuadra later set things straight. In a public statement on Friday the 16th, he voiced, on behalf of the government, his "most categorical disavowal" of this Assembly of Members of Parliament. The minister also said that certain groups "have conspired to engage in disorders, violence and even terrorism. The political responsibility for the events that may take place belongs exclusively to the organizers." That was what he said. [end of part one]

The retired generals of the Chilean Air Force received correspondence early last week. Gen Carlos Degroux, the deputy commander of the air force, invited them, on behalf of General Matthei, to a luncheon on Tuesday 13 May at the El Bosque Air Base. The official purpose of the invitation, which also went to Gens Gustavo Leigh and Nicanor Diaz Estrada, both retired, who did not attend, was to hold a "reunion of comrades in arms" and to tour the new facilities of the National Aeronautics Enterprise.

There was an underlying purpose, however. The air force is currently engaged in intense deliberations. There is concern over its future. The last series of raids, in which the air force ultimately but reluctantly took part, increased pressures within the branch, particularly from officers, to gradually draw away from the highly personalized regime and to abandon once and for all any government ticket in 1989.

As a backdrop to all this, the threats that Pinochet made to General Matthei a few months ago come up often during talks among officers. What he threatened was an army takeover of the air force. A source close to the FACH told APSI: "In practice, that would be another military coup and it would have grave consequences. Above all we have to preserve the integrity of the FACH as an institution."

Further Changes in the Military Junta?

General Matthei himself did not attend the luncheon either. When the invitation was extended in his name, he was in London on a private visit. That was not all. From London he traveled to the United States to take part in a meeting with the commanders in chief of the U.S. Armed Forces. "It is symptomatic," sources said. "Matthei discreetly accepted the invitation to the United States that General Sinclair had to turn down a few weeks ago."

The situation is strained.

Sources close to the Government Junta contend that after a prolonged period of tensions between Junta members and government officials, there are signs that an attempt is being made to put an end to the differences by means of dismissals. "The government's main target," the sources say, "is for the time being General Matthei, who is regarded as the most factious of the Junta members."

Matthei is held to be at the root of the differences of opinion over the presidential succession provided for in the 1980 Constitution. Government reports contend that "Matthei has been the promoter of the suggested reforms, even though he knows that Pinochet does not want to discuss these issues before processing of the main political laws is completed."

The same sources say that "the government looked very much askance at Matthei's explicit support for the constitutional reform proposals contained in the National Accord. Some circles suspect that the FACH commander was not unaware of and was even involved in drafting these proposals. Pinochet ordered a highly secret investigation into the matter last October, but it found nothing. The government has information, however, that Matthei had allegedly held meetings on these issues with ambassadors and representatives of northern hemisphere countries."

In recent days, the sources indicate, Pinochet has expressly voiced his displeasure over Matthei's visit to the U.S. commanders. "Pinochet is still upset," the sources continue, "about what he has described as betrayal by Reagan, and according to him Matthei is an accomplice to the betrayal." The informants explain that last year Pinochet was forced to take action against the FACH after Matthei said at a public seminar in the presence of reporters that in 1989 he would retire and devote his time "to exporting kiwis."

Heavy Artillery

The tensions were running so high at that time, the sources add, that Matthei ordered major combat units, the Hawker Hunter and supersonic fighter aircraft in particular, transferred to the FACH bases in Punta Arenas. Why? FACH circles offer one interpretation. In 1978, when the crisis broke out with then commander in chief Gen Gustavo Leigh, one of the reasons why the FACH was prevented from implementing its own decisions was that three of its most important bases in Santiago (El Bosque, Cerrillos and Colina) were virtually surrounded by army units and placed within the reach of long-range heavy artillery.

"The move surprised the FACH," one informant contends, "and enabled the army to really intervene in its high command. Although Matthei was seen for a long time as a puppet who followed Pinochet's dictates, over time the impression has grown that he had no choice other than to assume command so as to safeguard the institution's integrity."

Tensions have surfaced again now over the raids into the shantytowns. According to an account from the Defense Ministry, after the Junta refused to impose martial law, "Pinochet demanded that the commanders in chief pledge to conduct the raids jointly because in his judgment it was indispensable for the Armed Forces to demonstrate their unity to the entire country."

Pinochet got the pledge from the commanders in chief, but as days passed he encountered some odd obstacles. "The FACH offered the excuse that it found it hard to operate in the southern area owing to a manpower shortage. Pinochet then demanded that the FACH move its men southward, saying that if it had no personnel there, it was because he himself was moving them around and that, therefore it was not an acceptable excuse."

The FACH then took part in three of the raids.

But this did not overshadow the fact that the differences of opinion have tended to worsen, as Pinochet continues to consider the possibility of removing General Matthei from his post for the time being, according to the sources. There is a problem here, however. The government feels that there are two reasons why any attempt to take over the air force would be particularly difficult. One is that Matthei has managed to put together a homogeneous and stable team behind him that seems to obey and back his decisions. The other is that Matthei's political opinions strike a responsive chord in the Junta and enjoy relative support from other forces, a qualitatively different situation from what happened with Leigh in 1978.

Conversations in German

Another individual who has become inconvenient for Pinochet in recent months is the director general of Carabineros, Gen Rodolfo Stange. Although Stange was regarded, even within his own institution, as one of the men most loyal to Pinochet, ever since he took over as head of the Carabineros, he has shown an independence that, according to sources in La Moneda, "the government perceives as a factor standing in the way of its decisions." Pinochet was also annoyed by the decision that Stange made soon after taking office, with all of the repercussions from the Canovas case still reverberating, as Stange proceeded to remove the officers regarded as "Mendoza men."

"One of the main things against Stange," the informants add, "has been his closeness to Matthei, which has been made easier by the fact that both are Protestant. The frequent reports that Matthei and Stange converse privately in German are not untrue and have been especially annoying to Pinochet."

The sources said that Generals Pinochet and Stange had an angry discussion in recent days. According to this account, Stange told Pinochet that the raids were undermining the role of the Carabineros, who are responsible for maintaining law and order, not the army or other forces. The backdrop to all this is that Stange and the officers in his branch are worried about the price that the Carabineros have had to pay lately. It is surely the armed institution that has paid the highest price under this regime, as it has conducted crackdowns that it has not always agreed with and has suffered numerous casualties.

It is this wear and tear on the institution that, according to Carabinero sources, reportedly led Stange to speak harshly to Pinochet. In any event, another growing concern within the Carabineros was not voiced at their meeting: their involvement in the CNI. It is the only armed institution that still has an official role in the secret police, and its authorities at various levels have expressed a desire to abandon such functions. The argument that has been advanced against the idea is that "the CNI would become less professional..."

Cabinet Meeting Debate

According to the sources, the prevailing idea within the Military Junta is still to wait until 1989, in any event. "Neither of the four is prepared for any reason to go back to his barracks before then." They explained that Admiral Merino is fighting within the government for a plebiscite, if possible this year, to change the mechanisms for amending the 1980 Constitution. One fact has emerged from this: neither Merino nor Matthei support the idea of the Armed Forces backing a plebiscite with a single candidate in 1989.

"There has never been a disagreement on the deadlines that the constitution sets," the informants explained. "The split between the Junta and the Executive Branch has to do with the way in which the constitution is going to be amended for 1989. The Junta does not want a plebiscite; it wants an election that will relieve the Armed Forces of the problem of embarking on the adventure of a single candidate. The current problem is that they are caught up in how to make those changes, but they will become inevitable sooner rather than later."

La Moneda sources confirmed that the discussion at the expanded cabinet meeting on Thursday 8 May once again centered on the possibility of declaring a state of siege. "At one point in the meeting," the same sources explained, "Minister Cuadra took the floor and gave a lengthy rundown of how various mass media can be controlled through State Bank lending. He then analyzed one by one each of the mass media in Chile and when it came time to talk about the opposition magazines, he said that they were nothing to be worried about because only a tiny elite reads them."

Cuadra was supposedly telling Pinochet with these arguments that a state of siege "is unnecessary" and that the massive raids into the outlying shantytowns would do for the time being. It was learned that when he had his one-on-one argument with Cardinal Fresno, practically the entire cabinet thought that his hours as minister were numbered; but, the sources say, Pinochet, far from asking him to resign, backed him in this predicament. "No one represents Pinochet's thinking as faithfully as Cuadra," they said.

Two Factions in the Government

In any event, the underlying problem in the government over the past few weeks has been the increasingly clear-cut emergence of two opposing positions doing silent battle. The more "flexible" faction, which includes the members of the Junta, members of the UDI and ministers like Ricardo Garcia, says that a plebiscite has to be called "to change the mechanisms for amending the constitution." The other faction, which comprises ministers like Cuadra and Rosende and army members, opposes any plebiscite to amend the constitution.

Meanwhile, the army is still the prevailing stronghold. Its vertical chain of command is still in place on the operational level, but questions have arisen within the army about the possible effects of using military units in an overt crackdown on the populace.

One of the most hotly debated decisions within the army recently was the transfer of military units from the provinces to the capital for the purpose of reinforcing the contingent. According to accounts, the move once again created a crisis for Brig Gen Eduardo Ibanez Tilleria, the intendant of the Eighth Region. "Ibanez reportedly expressed opposition to the concentration of troops in Santiago, underscoring that national defense needs come before all other considerations. That stand had gotten him into trouble before."

Meanwhile, Luis Danus and Alejandro Medina Lois are still regarded as "generals with problems." In Danus' case the problem is one of "widely divergent viewpoints," while in Medina's case it is regarded as "the result of taking certain steps that his superiors did not look kindly upon."

But they are not the only ones who have voiced differences of opinion. According to the sources, Roberto Soto MacKenney, the rector of the University of Chile, has waged a strong battle to end military intervention in the university. "Soto is doing his job on military orders," they said, "but he does not agree at all with the system of rectors delegate, much less with sending troops onto the campuses."

Several other army officers are supporting him, according to the same account, and have even clearly stated their position to Pinochet and a number of ministers. Ramirez Migliasi from the National Planning Office is one example.

These disagreements, however, do not invalidate the fact that almost the entire army staff is prepared to back Pinochet all the way, even if, according to cold, hard calculations based on the 1980 Constitution, this means beyond the year 2000.

8743
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CHILE

MAGALLANES BISHOP VIEWS STATE VIOLENCE, CONSTITUTIONAL REFORMS

Santiago APSI in Spanish 19 May-1 Jun 86 pp 9-11

[Interview with the bishop of Magallanes, Tomas Gonzalez, by Sergio Marras, in Punta Arenas, date not given; first paragraph is introduction]

[Text] During his 12 years as bishop of Magallanes, Tomas Gonzalez has been his parishioners' moral lifeblood. His voice rings out with boundless energy, as admirals, intendants and generals well know, as he has spoken out loud and uncensored against all of the abuses that have been committed in the zone during his time here. At age 48, the young bishop is perhaps the one most disliked by the regime's top echelon. In the world's southernmost diocese, however, even opposing groups adore him.

[Question] Relations between the Magallanes Church and the regional government are much different from relations between the Church and the national government. Is this really the case or is it simply an illusion? Is Intendant Danus different from other Pinochet authorities?

[Answer] I would make a distinction between several people who represent the central government here and the government as such. I think that since General Danus took over, relations have improved very greatly because of his personality. He is open to a dialogue, very sincere and capable of acknowledging the efforts that the community is making to pave the way for a renewal. For example, he talked with the Medical Association after a quite divisive situation. He has spoken with the residents of shantytowns. He has a very clear idea of what the Church's role is. He has not gotten it into his head, unlike other military officers, that "the Church meddles in things it shouldn't." On the contrary, he feels that the Church's role is to represent the profound values of the human person, the values that must be defended. This is what he has said in our conversations. Therefore, we have never had a conflict over this. Except perhaps for certain clarifications, which have been well received.

[Question] What is happening with the commanders of the other branches of the Armed Forces?

[Answer] Well, this year there was a change of admiral. Admiral Pfeiffer arrived; he is also a very open-minded man. He is completely different from his predecessor, Admiral Camus, who was a closed-minded, stubborn man in his relations with the Church; he was far from reasonable and he once even hurt the poor people in this city by banning a tradition that the navy had always upheld. When there was room on the ships coming from Valparaiso, they brought without charge what Caritas was giving the Church to be distributed among the poor. Camus put an end to it. Fortunately, the ban has now been lifted.

[Question] And what about the air force?

[Answer] We also have an air force general, General Rojas, who is extraordinarily open-minded. He goes to the masses that the common people attend, not the special masses for the military. He analyzes things in a very high-minded way. So, we have three key people right now who are doing a lot to relax tensions and open things up...

[Question] It's as if you could declare yourselves independent from the rest of the country...Now then, one gets the impression that Pinochet is trying to control the situation through the command of the Fifth Division, which is headquartered here in Punta Arenas...

[Answer] Well, in the beginning I made a distinction. Not all of the officers are like the ones I mentioned. There is still a somewhat hard line in the army. I have learned, for example, that the officers and their wives have been gathered together and lectured to quite harshly about the current situation. They have been told that the civilians are the enemy, that they have to be ready to defend themselves, that the Church is to blame for the people's negative reaction to the Armed Forces, that the Church has been infiltrated by Marxists (the usual charge) and that all of us, starting with me, are Marxists. With Gen Jaime Gonzalez, the commander of the Fifth Division, still serving as acting intendant, of course there are always conflicts.

[Question] Lt Patricio Contreras Martinez, who planted the bomb in the Fatima parish church 2 years ago, belonged to the Fifth Army Division and was a high-level security officer. Did the army ever give an official explanation of what happened?

[Answer] This is a very serious problem. Gen Juan Guillermo Davila was intendant at the time; he is now ambassador to Uruguay. Gen Alejandro Medina Lois, who had been rector of the University of Chile, was the commander of the Fifth Division. Lieutenant Contreras did, in fact, belong to the Fifth Division. His documents, the TIFA, were found. He also belonged to the Army Intelligence Service. The Fifth Division cooperated hardly at all in solving the case. This greatly upset the court justices. Nevertheless, Contreras was finally identified legally on the basis of skin fragments from his fingertips. The first part of the investigation ended there. But he and his two companions had also filled the parish churches with pamphlets bearing the initials ACHA [Chilean Anticommunist Association]. Therefore, the second part of the trial is still going on, as an attempt is being made to find out who the head of the ACHA was and where the organization was entrenched. Our attorneys have a strong suspicion that the ACHA is a State terrorist organization that is entrenched in the Fifth Army Division.

[Question] Did Medina Lois know that the ACHA was active among the ranks of his men?

[Answer] This is a disturbing question to us. Medina was very hard to deal with, very stubborn, somewhat of a military fanatic. After this affair ended, we never had the chance to discuss it. He never even apologized because a member of the Fifth Division had been the perpetrator. And Mr Contreras Martinez had authority, inasmuch as he interrogated alleged spies and was identified as a torturer by several students. I even think that his rank was higher than lieutenant, because he was clearly an intelligence chief, an army authority.

[Question] And what about Toro Davila?

[Answer] He gave me the impression that he did not have much authority in this area.

[Question] And now, under Danus, haven't you been able to pursue the investigation and clear up the facts?

[Answer] The investigation is continuing. The courts have been able to take action, but we must not forget that there are two generals involved here. It's very difficult when everything has to go through regular military channels.

[Question] And you haven't had further problems with the ACHA and the security services?

[Answer] Well, the ACHA is still in operation, but less often than before. They scatter leaflets. We have been searched in several chapels.

[Question] Have you been threatened?

[Answer] Over the telephone. I've also noticed that they record what I say. For the most part they insult me very vilely. I send a collection of all this to the intendant, and when I went to Rome, I also took it along so that the pope could see how the Church is treated in this country. The poor Holy Father covered his face when he saw some of the pamphlets.

[Question] After one of his visits to Punta Arenas, General Pinochet hinted that the Magallanes Church harbored terrorists...

[Answer] I think that he is very poorly informed, as about many other things. He is not familiar with the Magallanes Church. He has not had a chance for some time now to speak with the bishop, who could tell him things first hand about this church. Moreover, I think that he was hurt greatly by what has been called the Punta Arenas outburst, where people organized to tell him how disliked he is in this area. At that point he officially slandered the Church, saying that it had organized the assemblies, which was not true. The Church had simply provided the premises so that they could be held, which is normal, because if the people are not given the opportunity to get involved, the Church has to do something. This is one of the fundamental points in the

Puebla document: "The people are entitled to participate." The people need to express their dissatisfaction and tell Pinochet that the facts are not as his regional secretaries portray them to him. What the Church actually did at that point was to salvage a very complicated situation.

[Question] Punta Arenas made news in the country because the government has given intense publicity to the Signal-Methanol project for the export of methane. Do you think that this is a real contribution to the local economy, as they are portraying it?

[Answer] Yes, there is this project, one for coal prospecting and another fertilizer project. All of this is being done at the risk of selling domestic assets to foreign companies. We are selling energy that is so valuable and expensive today. It's not that I'm against joint-venture companies. But our resources ought to remain in the country. I think, above all, that we have a very well-organized enterprise, ENAP [National Petroleum Enterprise], that in the case of the Signal-Methanol project has become just a sales agency, when it should have been the cornerstone of everything. This is the pinnacle of the liberal, individualistic system. A piece of Chile is being sold to foreigners. Now then, it could bring immediate benefits, in the sense that there will be work for some people who will earn more than in the PEM [Minimum Employment Program] or the POJH [Jobs Program for Heads of Household]. But this represents a job today and hunger tomorrow, because when construction is completed on the company, highly specialized labor is going to be required, and people are going to be unemployed again.

[Question] There seem to be two serious problems in Magallanes, aside from its isolation and the mass migration into Argentina: prostitution among youth and mortgages. How does the bishop view this situation?

[Answer] There are 7 regiments in this city of 100,000. The proportion is three civilians to one person in uniform. Many of these soldiers are alone, without families. This is conducive to a somewhat dissolute lifestyle. So prostitution is very widespread here, especially among young people. We have often spoken out against it. We have even discovered a white slave trade. In other words, people go into the poor districts of Santiago, con young women, forge an ID card for them and bring them here as "stewardesses" or "maids." When they get to the airport, they are taken to houses of prostitution, of which there are very many. Downtown here there are more red lights than streetlamps. As far as the second point is concerned, in recent days I have grown very concerned over the ethical problem posed by the UF's and the sin of usury. I think that during the Middle Ages, when money was lent at usurious rates, moralists often debated how much interest on a loan would constitute a sin of usury. They established that the limit was half again as much as had been lent. When you look today at what the UF's have really been like, you can see a very grave sin of usury there. I think that all of the people who hold debts in UF's should stop paying them back, because they are cooperating with a system that is in and of itself sinful. I also think that if everyone got together and stopped paying back, much of the economic system would crumble, because an economic system based on sin and usury really has no place here.

[Question] How is all this going to end?

[Answer] I see the situation the way we analyzed it at the most recent assembly of bishops. I think that we've gotten to a critical juncture. Pinochet has to listen to the clamor of the people. He cannot remain locked up in himself, threatening and taking tough action. The operations in Santiago were irrational. What happened was shameful. Never has a people been so humiliated. The army has come to be the enemy of the people in Santiago, and the army is part of the people and ought to be serving them. As we said at the plenary assembly, State violence is the worst kind. When a State becomes a terrorist State, that is as bad as things can get. And this is why we have called for a reform of the constitution. No document ought to be untouchable. The constitution must serve the people, above all a constitution that was approved so dubiously. In 1980 we bishops set six conditions that the plebiscite had to meet for the constitution to be valid. None was fulfilled.

8743
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METHODS OF DETERMINING CONSUMER DEMAND DETAILED

Havana BOHEMIA in Spanish 11 Apr 86 pp 38-43

[Interview with ICIODI Directors Wilfredo Benitez, Zoila Rodriguez, Antonio Bebelagua, Hugo Fernandez, Nery Suarez Lugo, and Manuel Marcos, by Alberto Pozo; date and place of interview not given; passages enclosed in slantlines printed in boldface]

[Text] On 16 and 17 April 1986, the International Seminar on Market Demand Research will be held in Havana, sponsored by the Cuban Institute for Research and Orientation on Consumer Demand (ICIODI) on the occasion of its 15th anniversary.

Because it is so important to study demand and to know and orient the market for the benefit of the country's socioeconomic development, and because the ICIODI has undeniably attained a high scientific and technical level (with 8 regular staff members, 8 auxiliaries, 43 adjuncts and 32 candidates), we decided it would be of vital importance to talk to some of the directors of the ICIODI. In this way, we can give our readers a broad, journalistic view of the issues this organization is studying and the work it is doing.

We talked to ICIODI Directors Wilfredo Benitez (Sectoral Research), Zoila Rodriguez (General Research), Antonio Bebelagua (Systems Research), Hugo Fernandez (Economic Cybernetics), Nery Suarez Lugo (Orientation and Consumption), and Manuel Marcos (chief, Department of Rationalization Norms and Standard of Living).

Pozo: Let's talk:

Benitez: The Sectoral Research Office conducts market studies, involving projections of demand, needs, and consumption among the population. For this purpose, it is divided into several departments, each with its own special research area: products that are consumed rapidly, every day, such as foods, beverages, and cigarettes; durable goods such as furniture, domestic appliances, televisions, refrigerators, etc.; productive services, which maintain the useful life of equipment (as in television and radio repairs, etc., as well as laundries, dry cleaning establishments, and others); social services, such as education and public health, in which there is a particular interest in good treatment and overall quality; and services and products related to the free time which the public enjoys and to recreation by tourists.

For the development of our work, we use methods and techniques of social research, and other methods of a mathematical or statistical nature. We conduct population censuses, sample surveys, observations of participants, and consumer panels. The most important primary source of information at our institute is the information provided to us by the people. We ask them about their income, the purchases they prefer to make, their tastes, habits and preferences for products, quality, assortment, prices, sizes, and all qualitative elements that have to do with consumption.

/The objective of our work is to form a bridge to link production, marketing and services, and the needs and demand of the public./

It is not an easy task. On the one hand, the public demands, but our economy does not now have the resources to satisfy every aspect of their needs.

Pozo: Do your studies help channel the resources we do have more efficiently?

Benitez: That is right. /We help ensure that production plans are more in keeping with demand,/ and that they come ever closer to the desires of the people.

For the market to function harmoniously, there must be a dynamic balance between production and demand.

And we are not just referring to supply, but also to assortment, quality, and price. Right now it is difficult to achieve that balance. We must add the contradictions. On occasion it is not the resources available to society that limit the full satisfaction of needs; there are also interests, opposing interests. For example, in a factory it is more productive to have a small line of products, but the market demands more variety because there is differentiated consumption. Each person, for example, wants a different style of pants.

There is another aspect. The people have a certain amount of money in their pockets, which means that they have a given capacity to buy. There must be a capability of responding to that with products and services. Therefore, we must have a corresponding supply, with sufficient volume and an adequate structure. In this way, we can strike a balance. When this is not achieved, the amount of money in circulation exerts pressure on what is available, and then some negative phenomena appear, such as the shortage of goods and long lines at establishments.

/I would like to stress that supply problems are resolved not only with volume, but also in terms of structure, which is made up of the qualitative elements of consumption: assortment, sizes, prices, . . ./

The supply-demand equilibrium is made more difficult because consumption is not homogeneous. It is made up of consumers with different characteristics. To be sure, we can divide them into segments to give us a reliable idea of their incomes, ages, sex, . . . and there are even short, medium, and tall people; there are geographical characteristics; the city is not the same as the countryside, although the distinctions are being blurred gradually.

Pozo: This can be seen very easily. For example, in Havana people like athletic shorts, but in other parts of the country they are shunned because they look like panties.

Benitez: Your example is very interesting, because it reminds us that in addition to the objective elements of consumption, subjective elements influence the consumer, such as habits, preferences, tastes . . . Thus, not only are shorts necessary, but a wide range is needed to respond to each of these tastes. This is what makes it more difficult to satisfy needs, and we focus a good part of our work on this differentiation, to help the people really meet their needs.

Pozo: I can tell you about a personal experience. A few years ago a very light motorcycle was imported to Cuba. The frame was like that of a woman's bicycle. In Havana no one objected to it and it sold quickly; but in some towns in the interior, it was rejected. As a matter of principle, no man was willing to buy it.

Benitez: Sometimes we ignore those subtleties, and we end up with marketing failures. The problem is not bringing a product to market, but giving it the appropriate qualities to satisfy demand.

I will cite a specific example from a study we were conducting on fruits and vegetables. We were looking at people's preferences, and we compared them with the structure of agricultural production.

The results were the following: The vegetable most sought after by the people nationally is the plantain; it is followed by malanga, potatoes, cassava, sweet potatoes, squash, and name. With regard to name, in some eastern provinces it is not in last place, but rather just above sweet potatoes.

On the other hand, for a variety of reasons potatoes are in greatest supply, followed by sweet potatoes, cassava, plantain, malanga, squash, and name.

We should point out that the agricultural enterprises, taking this research into consideration, are making a very serious effort to bring the structure of cultivation in line with the people's demand. Naturally, in the past year everything has been hampered by the destruction of Hurricane Kate.

Another example of our work is our research on the products that are on the market and how they correspond to demand. I will choose two of them as examples because of the sensitivity of consumption: panties and brassieres.

A total of 2,460 women were interviewed, and 63 percent of them had bought panties. Of them, 75 percent considered the product of good quality. In addition, 93 percent thought the color was adequate, while 62 percent said the product was good in general. Of course, these figures refer to the 63 percent who had purchased that article of clothing.

In the case of bras, 47 percent of these same women had bought them. Seventy-nine percent of them thought that the product was well designed, 90 percent felt it was stylish, and 81 percent said the quality was generally good. Again, these figures refer to the women who had purchased the bras.

In this study, we also measured people's opinions about women's shoes. I emphasize women's apparel because women tend to be more critical than men.

Pozo: Although young men . . .

Benitez: Sure, young men are also very demanding. Our research on women's shoes found that 27 percent found them fair to bad.

Pozo: That's all?

Benitez: That's all. But that percentage should be considered high. Any producer in the world would go bankrupt with that proportion. And 30 percent said the finishing of the product is fair.

Another area of research strikes me as interesting: the furniture market and the projection of demand for the medium term. This study has been used to project investment in the furniture industry through the year 2000.

The results of this research indicated that there were deficiencies in the construction and finishing of furniture. Defects were also noted in the transportation and handling of furniture; it would reach the consumer with scratches or damaged paint. The transportation system is inadequate to guarantee the transfer of the furniture to the consumer's home. In most cases, the consumer himself must transport the items, and he is not properly equipped to do so.

Pozo: The packaging of the furniture for its transport to the store is also a factor. It comes wrapped only in heavy paper, but the handling at the warehouse, during trasnportation, and at the store itself destroys that fragile wrapping.

Benitez: True. This handling process also has a negative impact on electronic equipment. The consumer himself has to take the product home under circumstances that are not ideal. This means that before being used, the product must go to the repair shop.

Pozo: We investigated a case of electronic equipment in Nuevo Hogar, in Neptuno. Damages due to handling begin right away. Just looking at the transportation to the central warehouse and from there to the provincial warehouse, we saw that sometimes 9 out of 12 items would arrive in poor condition. On the other hand, when they are received directly from the port, in containers, there is less damage. It appears that this problem is not unique to Cuba, because the Canadians contend that the greatest incidence of breakage occurs during distribution handling, and that it is precisely in this area where the most cost-cutting can be done, if packaging is improved.

Benitez: In addition to that, deficiencies were found in the raw materials used, and in the paint. The people criticized the colors used, because they did not take popular taste into account.

I can also tell you about research done on electronic equipment. Our studies have resulted in more flexible sales, with credit more accessible to the segments of the population that consume the least.

In the case of televisions, we have found demand that goes unmet because there is just one size. It is hoped that a portable model will be put on the market as a complement to the main model. The advantage would be that it could be placed in smaller areas. In addition, there is already a latent demand for color television sets. The people are eager for them to be marketed as soon as possible.

Pozo: I think you also did some research on the demand for dishes . . .

Benitez: Yes, and it revealed unsatisfied demand because of insufficient supply . . .

Pozo: And that was the reason for investing in a factory.

Benitez: It was very interesting. The existing selection on the market did not correspond to the people's habits: The coffee cups were too big for our taste, while the cafe con leche cups were too small. In addition, there were no deep bowls. This data enabled the industry and the commerce sector to change their orientation properly.

Pozo: Well, now we have an idea of sectoral research, which is certainly very closely tied to the population. What is the role of the General Research Office?

Rodriguez: /Our two basic studies are projections, and consumption rationalization norms./ For example, we do financial projections, that is, predictions of the public's income and spending, yearly and quarterly. The purpose is to contribute to the equilibrium of domestic finances. This makes it possible to take measures in case imbalances are about to occur.

Pozo: In other words, to find solutions to invest the money the workers receive in wages, for example.

Rodriguez: That's right. Let's look at general projections. They are drawn up for the following year, and for the 5-year period. The spending and income of the population are estimated for that period, and then it is estimated where this money will be spent and in what proportion . . . For example, how much will be spent on food, how much on beverages and liquors, how much on durable goods, . . . and so on.

Pozo: And how are these conclusions reached?

Rodriguez: By forecasting demand and looking at past trends in demand among the people. The objective of these predictions is to contribute to the planning of consumption among the population, and to a certain extent, to help correct the structure of the people's spending.

(A practical example cited by this reporter was the excess consumption of sugar in various foods. Looking at the trends and considering the need to ensure that the body does not consume more than the recommended levels for its proper functioning, with these forecasts in mind measures can be taken to reduce such spending. Providing other attractive alternatives for consumption and conducting consumer orientation campaigns can also be effective.)

Rodriguez: The other basic study we conduct refers to norms designed to rationalize consumption, models to achieve for a given period. For example, food, clothing, the furnishing of homes . . .

Marcos: These predictions of the needs created by demand are the consumption rationalization norms. To be sure, the norms will be based on the preferences of the population; but they will also depend on the possibilities of the country's economy. Let's return to the case of sugar, cited by the reporter. At this time we consume more than 50 kilos of sugar per capita per year. Excess sugar consumption can have an effect on various diseases, such as diabetes. This will define an upper limit for sugar consumption; but at the same time, this food needs to be replaced by another. Let's look at the details: We are consuming 3,000 calories per capita, which is an appropriate figure; but we have to replace the excess calories derived from sugar consumption with another food. In other words, we need to change the structure of consumption. We must increase our consumption of vegetables, for example. It is up to the government to make a decision on that. In sum, the norm is an important element when it comes to developing planning in the country.

Rodriguez: We also systematically analyze the behavior of the parallel market. This makes it possible to make decisions with respect to producers and suppliers. Concern with this area stems from the influence the parallel market has on the goal of liberalizing trade.

Pozo: Fine, but what about the traditional network?

Rodriguez: It is carried out in conjunction with other offices of our organization. The information we obtain, plus other studies conducted, enables us to analyze the behavior of services and products. I believe Antonio Bebelagua can elaborate on that.

Bebelagua: In fact, our objective is to investigate new techniques and to improve our information systems so that we can research demand and consumption. We are organized into three subsystems: information on the home, information on the commercial network and services, and secondary information.

Information on the home is obtained through surveys. The interviewer is the bridge between our institute and the family nucleus. We also work with a panel on foods, that is, a group of families who systematically report to us on their consumption.

With regard to trade and services, we work with the "Network of Demand Observers," workers in the commerce sector who respond to a questionnaire on certain issues.

Pozo: And isn't action taken among them to alert them to any problem?

Bebelagua: So far this feedback does not exist, but we should implement it to improve our system.

Pozo: Sometimes an unexpected situation arises, such as the failure to pick up glass containers at the warehouse. And this situation could create serious discontent that you should be aware of immediately.

Bebelagua: I completely agree; that is a deficiency which we will resolve soon. As a complement, there is a network made up of the workers of our institute, who are supposed to report on any situation they become aware of. We also have "The Consumers Speak Out," which consists of interviews with the public. They always take place on the basis of a prior survey, however. In addition, we use the "Fixed Sample Network," which is composed of a set group of families who are interviewed throughout the country as soon as we find out about a problem. For example, there may be a shortage of some item in the consumer basket, or a shortage of panties, or any other problem of interest to the institute.

To be sure, with the three subsystems we gather information to serve the interests of the General Office or the Sectoral Office. First we give the information to the Cybernetics Office, which processes it and checks it with us. Once the material is prepared, then it is given to the aforementioned offices.

Pozo: Let's talk about data processing . . .

Fernandez: In fact, we are responsible for the technical logistics of the institute's research. We do research on computation issues and mathematical models. We also investigate national socioeconomic problems, and provide technical assistance to the other sections of the institute.

We have a CID 300 computer, which is Cuban-made. We have used it to develop an automated system for processing survey results. We have introduced microinformatics by means of microcomputers. And the Sectoral and General Offices have the corresponding equipment so that they can accumulate data and also process it in accordance with the elements they need. At the same time, there is a general data bank that everyone can use.

As for national socioeconomic research, on which we have been working since 1981, it is an important resource for national planning. We are working along two basic lines: the so-called mountainous zones, and the newly assimilated areas. The latter territories have great export potential, given their wealth of natural resources. For example, Moa is a typical case; Santa Cruz del Norte and Nuevitas are others. We are just finishing up studies on the last two.

In the mountainous zones, we have worked in Granma, Santiago de Cuba, Guantanamo, Pinar del Rio, and now Sancti Spiritus.

/The basic problem in both lines is the fact that the labor force is resistant to stabilization. This is a consequence of the imbalance between the development of the material infrastructure and that of the social infrastructure./ This imbalance is the root of the problem. There is no incentive. This situation is present in all the studies we have conducted. In this context, the most serious problem and the most troubling one is housing. But after this problem is solved, workers are still interested in leaving to look for places with more social, cultural, and spiritual development.

Finally, our office is responsible for scientific and technical information. We have 7,000 titles, and a library of more than 1,000 studies conducted by our institute. In addition, we are supposed to search for whatever secondary information that is needed at a given moment. We provide support for the other sections.

Pozo: Under certain circumstances, all of the institute's work will be aimed at the orientation of consumption . . .

Lugo: The other sections of the institute gather information from the people; we take information to the people. Our purpose is to educate the public to improve its consumption patterns on scientific bases that will contribute to a healthier lifestyle.

/Consumer protection in Cuba is not an individual concern or a matter for isolated institutions to deal with; it is the raison d'etre of the socialist state, the essence of its basic legislation./

With the information gathered from the various areas, we know /what demand is like and what it should be like./ Moreover, we do our own research on habits, on modifications, on the effectiveness of the messages, so that our orientation campaigns can hit the mark. This entails studying the media to determine how best to use them. In addition, we have our own media organ, the magazine OPINA.

This year we are working on two campaigns. One of them is aimed at discouraging the habit of smoking, which is harmful to the health. The other will begin at the end of the year: nutrition education. Both have been coordinated with a group of agencies, which are supporting them with their own resources. We could say that these are social interest campaigns.

Orientation also involves the marketing of products. In this regard, we have had some negative experiences, such as with direct white sugar. It was put on the market without any prior information, which left the product defenseless in the face of consumers' unfamiliarity with it. Some positive experiences include the fishing industry, which asked us to conduct studies before it put products on the market. One important element is the label, which plays an informational role.

I think we still have a long way to go, but we are in a development stage. We do not yet have enough practical experience, so we cannot yet analyze the corresponding feedback.

We have presented here the broad features of the work being carried out by the Cuban Institute for Research and Orientation on Consumer Demand. Founded in 1971, this organization has proven to be a useful tool in guiding the state in the area of demand and consumption. Let this presentation serve as recognition for its 15 years of work.

8926
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CUBA

AT-HOME ASSAULT OF WOMAN BY 'WORKMEN' RECOUNTED

Havana MONCADA in Spanish Mar 86 pp 61-63

[Article by Alfonso Puron; photographs by operatives of the National Revolutionary Police]

[Text] "Where is the money?" the unknown subject kept repeating over and over again to the frightened Angela de las Doblas Salcedo, who could see out of the corner of her eye the glint of the knife blade that was held to her neck.

She was so nervous she could not utter a word; she could only indicate to her attacker with rapid movements of her head that there was no money present in her apartment at 260 Calle I, corner of 17th, in Vedado.

That morning, 27 September 1985, the 75-year-old woman received a phone call from an individual who identified himself as an employee of the Building Repair Enterprise of Havana City, to inform her that two carpenters from that entity would be visiting soon to dismantle a scaffold that was in her residence.

In fact, Angela had asked several weeks ago that this obstacle be removed from her kitchen, and she sat down to wait for the workmen to arrive. Minutes later, they knocked on the door.

The woman trustingly showed them the platform, gave them a drink of water, and allowed them to go into the bathroom. Afterwards, one of them suddenly pounced on her, rendering her powerless.

While one of the men remained next to Angela, who by this time was on the bed, tied up with sheets, the other searched the apartment high and low, looking for the 20,000 pesos they thought the woman had hidden in her home.

They dumped the contents of her closets, wardrobes and cabinets on the floor, but they could not find anything of value. All they managed to get were a few trinkets and 2 pesos in national currency.

At 1020 hours the two assailants left Angela's residence with their meager booty. The victim, having fainted, lay on the bed with slight injuries.

Telephone Number

At 1135 hours that same day, the 27th, the National Revolutionary Police (PNR) officer on duty came to the scene of the crime.

Still nervous, Angela told the investigating officer, Lt Raul Ruiz, everything that had happened since the phone call she had received that morning.

Experts from the Crime Lab, meanwhile, obtained several fingerprints throughout the house, left by the attackers during their search for the money.

The neighbors in the building, when interviewed, were unable to provide any information to help the investigation; no one saw the culprits arrive or leave.

The victim explained that in August employees of the Building Repair Enterprise had done some work in the area, and they had forgotten to remove the scaffold from her kitchen.

Although she asked them several times to remove it, it was not until she got the telephone call that morning that anyone told her the two carpenters would be arriving.

Indeed, the service order in the name of Angela de las Doblas Salcedo, residing at 260 Calle I on the corner of 17th, in Vedado, was found at the enterprise. The order had not yet been completed, however, as indicated by the lack of the supervisor's signature to verify that the work had been done.

In appraising the general situation, the investigating officer determined that at least one person knew the details of Angela's life: that she lived alone, and that she was always in her apartment. In addition to knowing about the scaffold in her residence, this person also knew the victim's phone number.

In another interview, the investigator tried to determine which people might have access to this private information. Angela answered that weeks earlier, a private carpenter whom she did not know came to her residence to do the job, but when she looked into the price of the job, she decided not to have it done because it was too expensive.

"Who sent that person? Could you recognize him?" asked the officer again.

"Yes, he told me that Antonia had talked to him about my case. She is a friend who lives near here, right in Vedado."

"One time Angela told me about the problem of the scaffold," Antonia explained to the authorities, "and I sent her that carpenter to solve the problem. But I guess they did not agree on the price, because about 2 days ago he asked me to call her again."

"Did you tell him anything about the money Angela had saved?" asked the investigator.

"No, I only told him that she was a very old lady and that she would certainly have enough money to pay him well because she is very frugal."

"Who is this individual?"

"His name is Juan. Wait while I look for his address; I have it written down on a piece of paper."

Juan Sosa Sarduy, unemployed, 38 years old, residing at 35 Calle Central between 3rd and Final, Mambi district, Guanabacoa, tried to account for every detail of his movements between 0800 and 1200 hours on 27 September 1985.

During his statement, he contradicted himself several times, and denied any knowledge of Angela or her friend Antonia.

When he was placed in the line-up, the two women foiled his plans by identifying him as the carpenter who had offered his services to dismantle the scaffold in the victim's home.

The long interrogation to which he was subjected and the charges which were filed against him as a suspect in the robbery perpetrated in the Vedado apartment yielded results:

"No, I was not present during the assault. I was the one who planned everything, but the ones who committed the robbery were some buddies of mine, Eberto and Gustavo."

Culprits

Eberto Perez and Gustavo Palacios, both residents of the municipality of Havana Vieja, at first tried to deny any involvement in the crime. But when they were identified by the victim in the line-up, they admitted the charges.

Juan, the leader of the group, was in need of money and proposed that his buddies assault Angela in her home. He persuaded them by citing the large amount of money hidden in the old woman's home and the ease with which she could be robbed, given that she lived alone.

To obtain Angela's phone number, Juan quickly returned to Antonia's house on the pretext of a new bid for services at a more modest price. While Antonia was dialing the number, he made a mental note of it. He also learned there that Angela had contracted with the Building Repair Enterprise to have them remove the scaffold.

On the day in question, Juan and his two accomplices headed for the home of their future victim. From the pharmacy located at the corner of Calle 23 and Calle I, Juan phoned Angela and falsely identified himself as the employee of the enterprise. He announced the visit of the two purported carpenters, and minutes later they carried out the deed.

After the investigative process was completed and Preparatory File 557/85 was closed, the police investigator met once more with Angela de las Doblas

Salcedo. At that time the things that had been stolen from her home were returned to her.

At the end of the meeting, the investigator could not resist asking one last question, just out of professional curiosity:

"Did you really have so much money hidden in your home, Ma'am?"

"No, sonny, my savings are in the People's Bank."

8926
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GOVERNMENT ANNOUNCES MEAT PRICE CEILING

Guatemala City EL GRAFICO in Spanish 22 Apr 86 p 2

[Text] There are going to be price ceilings set for meat, the minister of agriculture, engineer Rodolfo Estrada, confirmed yesterday. He said the price ceilings could be set sometime next week.

Recently Dr Alfonso Loarca Pineda, vice minister of livestock, had cast doubt on such a possibility, saying he felt that the measures which have already been adopted would help to lower meat prices in the marketplace.

On the contrary, the minister said yesterday, meat prices in the capital have risen considerably, although they are still low in some departments in the interior of Guatemala. The minister said he had received reports from some governors that there have been no meat price increases there.

The minister said that in the capital, though, far from declining, as it had been hoped they would because of the ban on exports of live animals and meat products, prices have surged considerably in recent days. He stated that these prices are far out of line with what a fair price should be.

The minister said that the ceiling prices will never match the current market prices, for he is convinced that the price at which meat is now selling is far above a fair market price.

7679
CSO: 3248/445

AGRICULTURE MINISTER DISAGREES WITH CEREZO'S PROPOSAL

Guatemala City PRENSA LIBRE in Spanish 17 Apr 86 p 2

[Text] The minister of agriculture, Rodolfo Estrada, an engineer, yesterday morning visited the president of congress, to discuss some bills related to his ministry.

Those bills, reported the minister, deal with food production and agricultural exports.

Concerning a proposed decree which President Cerezo has announced he would send to congress, stating that businessmen may only earn 30 percent on sales of products, the minister of agriculture indicated that he does not agree with this plan.

"This is not simply a matter of setting a rate of profits. We have to take the earnings of producers into account, as well as their real production costs. My feeling is that earnings should not be [set at] less than 40 percent, as that would help to stimulate production."

"Setting profits under 40 percent serves as a disincentive to producers."

7679
CSO: 3248/445

COMMENTARY CRITICIZES CEREZO'S LACK OF STRATEGY

Guatemala City EL GRAFICO in Spanish 8 Apr 86 p 9

[Text] Among the multiple protests about the government's proposed Economic and Social Recovery Plan, its attempt to resolve Guatemala's crisis situation, the decision the General Emergency Assembly of Transport Workers made yesterday does give cause for some concern. This decision would shut down urban, intercity, and freight transport operations all over Guatemala starting on Friday [11 April]. This would demonstrate its disapproval of the high prices of tires, of spare parts, and of the 3 million quetzal subsidy earmarked for FEGUA [Guatemalan National Railways], as they feel that the railway transportation system is outmoded, and this would be a poorly utilized investment.

This planned paralysis of all transportation systems is disturbing, for we remember the disorders which a similar measure produced in September of last year, leading to civil disorder, burning of vehicles, and acts of vandalism directed against private property. The government must remember that this is not just one sector which has expressed its disagreement with the Economic and Social Recovery Plan, but rather that many demonstrations of unrest have been taking place in all sectors: just yesterday CACIF [Coordinating Committee of Agricultural, Commercial, Industrial and Financial Associations] delivered a document in which it stated its already mentioned opposition to the "economic package"; and today the Trade Union Unity Council has scheduled a press conference at which it will announce the results of its talks yesterday with President Cerezo, which will determine whether the public protests which began last week will continue or not. In Izabal, these protests have already claimed one person's life.

President Cerezo's message read on the national radio and television broadcasting system on Sunday was not convincing. Various sectors have said that the government did not provide assurances of any sort, did not offer solutions, but only a way of containing popular discontent until some mechanisms are implemented to get the so much discussed plan moving. But in the meantime, prices of basic consumer products are continuing to climb, no climate of security and confidence that would permit a recovery of full production capacity has been restored, nor are jobs being created to offset the alarming level of unemployment.

Of course, we agree with the president that the problem has been inherited from past governments, and in its short time in office, the Christian Democratic government could not correct all the problems we have been burdened with from decades past. But they must take into consideration the fact that if a definite government plan had existed, it would already have been put into practice, and solutions would now be on the way. We believe that the present general state of malaise is the product of improvisation, and we want to emphasize the danger that this state of affairs may worsen and become a crisis, if mechanisms that will satisfy producers, businessmen, and consumers are not implemented.

7679
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MEXICO

NEW MINIMUM WAGES REFLECT 25.1 PERCENT BOOST

Mexico City EXCELSIOR in Spanish 22 May 86 pp 1-A, 15-A, 32-A

[Article by Humberto Aranda]

[Excerpts] The minimum wages that will prevail as of next 1 June will be 2,065, 1,900, and 1,675 pesos, an increase of 25.1 percent over the current 1,650, 1,520, and 1,340 peso rates. The rate for the Federal District will be 2,065 pesos.

The new amounts were officially approved yesterday by the National Minimum Wage Commission (CNSM), while the labor movement repeated that the same percentage given to the minimum wages will be demanded for contract wages.

In the case of the general minimum wages and those paid to farmworkers, the increase amounts to between 335 and 415 pesos per day, depending on the economic wage zone in question. The raise for professional minimum wages varies between 422 and 484 pesos per day.

It was emphasized that the resolution was approved unanimously by the labor, management, and government representatives.

Zones

The minimum wage of 2,065 pesos per day, which replaces the 1,650 rate, will the be paid in eight zones: the Federal District and its metropolitan area , states of Baja California and Baja California Sur, and the cities of Acapulco, Guerrero; Ciudad Juarez, Chihuahua; Nogales, Sonora; Matamoros, Tamaulipas; and Coatzacoalcos, Veracruz.

The wage of 1,900 pesos per day, which will replace the 1,520 rate, will begin on 1 June in the following six zones: the metropolitan areas of Guadalajara and Monterrey, and the cities of Tampico, Tamaulipas; Hermosillo and Ciudad Obregon, Sonora; Ciudad Mante, Tamaulipas; and Poza Rica, Veracruz, among others.

The third group comprises 53 zones, in which the new minimum wage will be 1,675 pesos instead of 1,340. In this group are the states of Aguascalientes, Campeche, Colima, Morelos, Nayarit, Puebla, Quintana Roo, Sinaloa, Tabasco, Tlaxcala, Zacatecas, Coahuila, Chiapas, Guanajuato, Guerrero, Jalisco, Mexico, Michoacan, Oaxaca, Queretaro, San Luis Potosi, most of Tamaulipas, most of Veracruz, Yucatan, Durango, and Hidalgo.

The president of the CNSM, Javier Bonilla Garcia, stated that with regard to professional minimum wages, it was agreed that they should be between 25 and 65 percent above the general minimum wages and those paid to farmworkers, given the degree of specialization involved in the various categories included in this wage classification.

8926
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PAN CANDIDATE CLOUTHIER BACKS VOTE FOR CLERGY

Mexico City EXCELSIOR (STATES section) in Spanish 25 May 86 p 2

[Article by Alejandro Sicairos]

[Excerpt] Culiacan, Sinaloa, 24 May—It is time to end the Manicheisms and allow all us Mexicans to contribute as best we can to the solution of the country's problems.

This was stated by Manuel J. Clouthier, gubernatorial candidate of the National Action Party (PAN) in Sinaloa, as he advocated the open participation of the clergy in national politics.

At a press conference in this city, the PAN candidate stated that the clergy is allowed to exercise its right to suffrage in other countries, "but not here, even though priests, like us businessmen, are citizens above all else."

8926
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NO VERDICT EXPECTED IN RAMIREZ LIMON CASE UNTIL MID-1987

Mexico City EXCELSIOR in Spanish 28 Mar 86 pp 4-A, 20-A

[Article by Rafael Medina]

[Text] The trial of Leopoldo Ramirez Limon, former director of Nacional Monte de Piedad [national pawnshop], 3 years after it began, was officially transferred to the 19th Penal Court. It is estimated that the final judgment will not be handed down until mid-1987. The defendant immediately filed a request for amparo [a writ possessing some elements of an injunction and some of habeas corpus] so that he could remain in the Northern Preventive Detention Center and not be transferred to the Eastern Preventive Detention Center.

"The final disposition of the case," said Judge Isidoro Asuz Catalan, "will take several more months, and the defense attorneys can use all legal means to ensure that the defendant remains where he is."

He also explained that "now we are beginning to study the voluminous file," which was sent and formally transferred to that court by Division 1 of the Supreme Court of Justice.

Ramirez Limon's attorneys asked for federal protection for their client, who is accused of defrauding the Monte de Piedad of more than 200 million pesos, so that he and his codefendants can remain in the centers to which they were initially assigned. They fear "some attack."

The trial against the former official had been ruled as falling under federal jurisdiction, but after several proceedings the judge of the 1st District Penal Court, Pedro Elias Soto Lara, disqualified himself from hearing the case and transferred it to common jurisdiction.

As a result, Division 1 of the nation's top court studied the case and finally determined that it should be decided by Judge Asuz Catalan.

Like Ramirez Limon, one of the first major officials to be arrested under the present administration, his codefendants (including Ignacio Munoz de Corte) demanded amparos so that they would not be transferred to another prison, because they feel they are safe where they are.

8926
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MEXICO

THREE WITNESSES RETRACT TESTIMONY HURTFUL TO DURAZO MORENO

Mexico City EXCELSIOR in Spanish 23 May 86 pp 5-A, 35-A

[Article by Rafael Medina Cruz]

[Text] A former licensing office chief who is currently a motorcycle officer, and three licensing office workers, appeared yesterday in the ongoing Durazo trial. The first witness did confirm his statement, but it does not implicate the former official at all. The other three, like most of those who have come to this court, retracted their statements, saying that they were detained and coerced.

Raul Salvador Quesnel Ortega, former chief of the licensing office of the then General Directorate of Police and Traffic, and Julio Ortiz Mancera, Raymundo Olmos Garcia, and Alfredo Riviera Uriarte, all employees of licensing offices, appeared for 3 hours before Judge Maria de Jesus Medel Diaz.

Quesnel Ortega, 50, said he had served as a motorcycle escort for the wife of former President Jose Lopez Portillo, Carmen Romano. Due to an accident he had suffered on the job, the first lady then recommended that Durazo Moreno name him chief of the licensing office in Alvaro Obregon, he stated in his testimony at the Office of the Government Attorney of the Federal District.

In his appearance before the Justice Ministry yesterday in court, he said that "about 20 days after I was named head of the Alvaro Obregon licensing office, Antonio Lukini Mercado, chief of all the licensing offices, told me at a meeting in his office that we had to pay him a weekly amount."

"I refused," he added. "I told him that I would not pay him out of my salary. If that was the condition, I would prefer to be sent back to the first lady's motorcycle escort, but then she would know about it."

The witness, who appeared in court in uniform and who stands about 180 cm tall, answered the deputy justice minister's questions in a hoarse, firm voice. He stated that the "payment" that Lukini Mercado demanded of him was "for office expenses," according to the latter. "I explained to him that those expenses were not necessary, because the office even provided me with a janitor to clean up the place."

He stated that in response to his assertion that "I do not have any money. Where am I going to get it? On my salary? Forget it! Better send me back to the escort," Lukini Mercado said that "it was all right, not to worry."

When the motorcycle officer was asked why he did not report this irregularity to Durazo Moreno, he emphasized, "Because Gen Durazo was not in the Federal District at that time. He was on a trip."

He acknowledged, however, that he had sold "several tickets to Police Day" to the licensing office staff. "Lukini gave them to me. I offered them to my employees, and I told them there was a price. Whoever wanted to buy them did so, and anyone who did not want to simply did not."

He also told the judge of the 26th Penal Court, Maria de Jesus Medel Diaz, that his refusal to pay the money did not cause him any problems with Lukini.

"He did not pressure or threaten me. I did not give him money, and that was all. I was only concerned about my office and my affairs," he added.

Quesnel Ortega, whose testimony was clear, uncontradictory and quick, did not look at Durazo Moreno, who did not take his eyes off the witness, because he did not deny what he had stated at the Office of the Government Attorney.

The other three employees of the licensing office of the Cuauhtemoc Delegation, Julio Ortiz Mancera, Raymundo Olmos Garcia, and Alfredo Riviera Uriarte, had told the Office of the Government Attorney of the Federal District about all the irregular activities that used to take place in their offices for the purpose of obtaining the "payments" that Lukini Mercado demanded of their chief, Alberto Rojas, and that he in turn demanded of them. They did not confirm these statements, however, and said that they had been detained by force and then were made to sign some documents.

Ortiz Mancera, who had been a driving expert, stated in his testimony at the Office of the Government Attorney that he would give his chief, Rojas Huitron, "payments" of 7,000 to 8,000 pesos; but when he appeared before the judge, he denied having said that.

The other two witnesses' testimony was the same.

Raymundo Olmos Garcia, whose statement at the Office of the Government Attorney indicated that he is 36 years old, testified that he is actually 29, and that if they "lied" about personal data like that, then the rest must be "worse still."

In addition, he stated that the signature that purported to be his was not placed there by him, and because of that circumstance, both the deputy justice minister and Durazo's defense attorneys asked for handwriting experts to give an opinion on the matter.

Durazo Moreno merely observed at this proceeding.

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MEXICO

BRIEFS

PAN'S BARRIO UNHURT AFTER PLANE MISHAP--Chihuahua, 20 May--An aviation accident endangered the life of the gubernatorial candidate for the National Action Party (PAN), Francisco Barrio Terrazas, according to sketchy reports received by that party today. "We know that the small plane was practically destroyed, but fortunately, the reports we have all agree that Barrio and his two companions, as well as the pilot, are safe and sound," stated Carlos Mesta, coordinator of the PAN election campaign in this capital city. [Text] [Mexico City EXCELSIOR in Spanish 21 May 86 pp 44-A] 8926

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NICARAGUA

DOMESTIC TRADE MINISTER ON HOARDING, DISTRIBUTION PROBLEMS

Managua LA PRENSA in Spanish 12 Mar 86 pp 1, 6

[Text] Commander Ramon Cabrales, minister of domestic trade, agreed last night that the problem of shortages can only be solved by "more production and not by raising and lowering prices."

In a televised appearance which also included INE [Nicaraguan Institute of Energy] Minister Emilio Rappaccioli, Labor Minister Benedicto Meneses and Planning Secretary Juan Rodriguez, Cabrales said that in recent months producers and firms have been hoarding in expectation of better prices.

"Consumers have been complaining about a shortage of certain basic commodities, but what has happened is that everyone has been waiting for new prices," he said.

He mentioned the specific cases of the Ocalsa and Indegrasa factories in Leon, where batteries were hoarded in the first, and the entire soap production for the western region in the second.

He indicated that the same thing has happened with rice, which has been hoarded both by enterprises in the so-called "Area Belonging to the Nation," and by private companies.

The trade minister referred once again to attacks on the government as one of the main causes of current problems, to which he added the problem of production costs and a lack of discipline in the labor force.

As consumer demands and reaction to the new price hikes have been for real guarantees, the Commander said that the responsible ministry will do what it can to ensure that the basic urban basket and the basic rural one include all the products.

But he warned that MICOIN [Ministry of Domestic Trade] is not the producer of all the regulated articles and that therefore they would have to wait and see if the production volumes needed to meet consumer demand are attained.

"We cannot guarantee prices for goods that do not exist. If production volumes needed to meet current demand are fulfilled, MICOIN can guarantee that all the products will arrive through established channels," he added.

The minister also referred to the problem of sensitive products such as powdered milk and sanitary napkins, saying that 70 percent of the production of the first product circulates outside official channels because it is produced by a transnational firm in which the government owns shares.

In touching on the subject of sanitary napkins, which have disappeared in the past few days and are only received at the rate of one package every 3 months, Cabrales said that this would have to be explained by the Ministry of Industries.

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NICARAGUA

LIVESTOCK, MILK PRODUCTION PROBLEMS NOTED

Feed Shortage

Managua BARRICADA (REGIONS insert) in Spanish 21 Mar 86 no page number

[Excerpt] Juigalpa--About 4,000 cattlemen from the dry zone of Region 5 have been affected by the shortage of products such as molasses and cottonseed-cake meal needed to feed some 220,000 head of cattle during this summer period, and if no response to this situation is forthcoming, they will suffer great losses."

According to Comrade Hector Molina, an official of the Nutritional Department of Regional-MIDINRA [Ministry of Agricultural-Livestock Development and Agrarian Reform], the lack of these products will bring about a marked reduction in the production of milk and meat that could amount to a loss of 30 to 50 kilos per head (400 kilos).

He maintained that there would be a minimum number of cattle in pregnant condition; at the same time, it would result in constant disease among the herd, delayed growth, and a mortality rate that could reach 15 percent.

At the same time, Region 5 (Boaco, Chantales, and Zelaya Central) lacks a molasses storage center with the capacity to meet a demand such as this year's, which is 60,000 barrels of syrup. Added to this is the urgent need for transportation that can cover the requirements of this period, because the sector has not received even 10 percent of the corresponding amount.

"Region 5 produces 40 percent of the country's meat and it has a demand for syrup and supplements greater than that of any region in the country," pointed out Comrade Molina.

The dry zone, which encompasses the municipalities of Santa Lucia, Tecolostote, Teustepe, part of Juigalpa and Boaca, has a shortage of pasture and has the capacity to handle only about 120,000 head of cattle. This has become overloaded because productive rates have improved and increased the incentives for the production of milk.

This historic misfortune is intensified by the transfer of more than 25,000 head of cattle from winter ranges to this sector as a result of the actions of bands of mercenaries, which force the producers to substitute concentrate for pasture.

Notwithstanding the fact that 83 percent of these cattle belong to the private sector, the state area is also encountering serious problems to meet the proposed targets.

Pablo Ubeda Could Lose Between 70,000 and 90,000 Kilos of Meat

An example of the possible consequences is the Pablo Ubeda Company, which would have to confine 3,000 calves--2,000 of which are already in confinement --in order not to destroy the pasture infrastructure.

But this center has a capacity to store only 480 barrels of syrup, which is enough to feed them for 8 days.

This shortage could cause the Pablo Ubeda Company a loss of between 75,000 and 90,000 kilos of meat and lead to the death of at least some 450 head of cattle.

Pricing Policy Criticized

Managua BARRICADA (REGIONS insert) in Spanish 22 Mar 86 no page number

[Text] Carazo--A clear and frank presentation of the problems being experienced by the dairymen of Corazo and Nandaime was made by that association on Thursday, the 20th, at an assembly convened by them to which representatives of the local government, UNAG, ENILAC, and other appropriate agencies involved in the matter were invited.

Before the audience of dairymen gathered in the CST [Sandinist Central Organization of Workers] of Jinotepe, each of them made his presentation in an open forum. In some cases, the revolutionary government was criticized for its milk price policy and for not fulfilling the supply of livestock feed, which is detrimental to the weight yield of the cattle herd.

Rene Gutierrez, president of the [association of] dairymen of Jinotepe, which is comprised of 30 members, stated that they lack agricultural-livestock assets as well as tires, batteries, and spare parts for their vehicles. After recognizing the problems stemming from imperialist aggression, he asserted that there has been good will on the part of UNAG. Cutierrez criticized the fact that there has been good will on the part of UNAC. Gutierrez criticized the fact that there is feed for poultry and not for cattle "when it is the latter that produce the milk for the children."

With regard to the price of meat, Juan Jose Quintanilla criticized the ENAMARA Company (Nandaime), saying that it raised the price to the consumer 125 percent while raising the price to the producer only 55 percent.

Speaking in the name of the dairymen of Nandaime, Cesar Castillo was the sharpest critic of the government when he referred to the price paid for milk. According to him, wages have climbed 50 percent and they are charged from 350 to 1,200 cordobas for molasses.

"It is a mockery and it is time for the FSLN comrades to get the word that we are unhappy, since we do not have any job other than that of milkers," he said, adding: "We are not beggars; we are coming to the offices not to ask but to demand that the government leave our hands free."

William Brenes, of the dairymen of Diriambo, said that now it is "breeding with milking." He pointed out that they lack cottonseed-cake meal and asked that this feed be guaranteed to them inasmuch as they are willing to deliver the milk to ENILAC.

Brenes demanded dollars as an incentive for the delivery of milk so as to be able to obtain spare parts and vehicles, because they save the state foreign exchange from the importation of milk, he explained.

"It is painful to see state workers with Ladas and dual-traction vehicles. That is not a source of envy but of courage for us because we are Nicaraguans and love our people," he declared.

In replies to the different demands of the dairymen, Comrade Augusto Cordon explained that, with regard to livestock feed, before the victory the country produced 1.2 million quintals and today the demand is 1.5 million, consequently there is a shortfall. He added that, before, 55 percent of the land was devoted to livestock but that it is undergoing a change because a large part of it is devoted to the production of basic grains, the greatest impact being in the Agroecological Region of the Pacific. Nevertheless, he admitted that Monisa de Granada has great deficiencies for supplying the region with livestock feed.

In the meantime, regarding the price of milk, Carlos Torres, of the Central Directorate of Agriculture, explained that if the producers are paid more than 108.50 cordobas for it, our people would suffer that increase because they would have to pay more than 40 cordobas out of pocket.

With regard to the price of meat, he pointed out that in recent months ENAMARA was working at only 30 percent capacity, inasmuch as the cattlemen were not delivering their calves, and the company incurred the same fixed costs.

He declared that the average cattle price of 120 cardobas per pound to the producers plus the incentive in dollars results in an acceptable price but that in April the costs will begin to be reconciled.

Regarding foreign exchange for those who deliver the milk, he explained to them that while it may be true that the milk saves the state foreign exchange from imports, it is equally true that this product does not generate any, as is the case with cotton, coffee, and meat.

Finally, they were informed that the BND [National Development Bank] was willing to deliver financing for fattening calves, feed, and other items. For its part, PETRONIC will increase their quota of gasoline, and with regard to meal, they will be given a combined premixture.

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NICARAGUA

PROBLEMS OF MANAGUA HOSPITALS DESCRIBED

18.6 Percent Infant Mortality

Managua BARRICADA in Spanish 23 Apr 86 pp 1, 7

[Article by Elsa Gomez]

[Text] Out of every one thousand live-born babies, 18.6 percent die of various causes at the Bertha Calderon Hospital, where the installed capacity for care, in physical and human terms, is minimal in comparison to the extraordinary demand.

The Women's Hospital, as it is also called, is supersaturated. It is no accident that 18 hours after giving birth, each mother has to leave the facility. Nor is it by chance that there are two or even three babies in each crib.

The 45 deliveries and 6 periosteotomies every day and 2,567 surgical operations in the past 3 months represent an overload of work in terms of the capacity of the hospital, which is naturally reflected in deterioration in the quality of service.

The situation is a dramatic one, and even worse, if to these problems we add the brutal effects of a shameful lack of labor discipline, reflected for example in the fact that very regularly, every day, 60 individuals fail to report for work.

Absenteeism, negligence and indifference are most serious in the sector responsible for the facility's hygiene, which presents a deplorable picture in this connection, also affecting the health of the patients.

It is not without reason that the director of the Bertha Calderon Hospital, Dr Jorge Orochena, says bluntly: "This is a hospital which is being ruined by excessive demands and which is on the brink of collapse." But even so, there are some possibilities for resolving the problems.

Every day, more than a thousand individuals move through the halls of the Bertha Calderon Hospital--patients, companions, medical and paramedical personnel--despite the fact that this structure was designed to accommodate fewer than half that number. And although the demand for outpatient consultations, emergency care and hospitalization is increasing, the capacity for medical care remains the same.

The support personnel entrusted with the tasks of hospital maintenance and hygiene hold the record for absenteeism, with 60 workers failing to appear every day, while 13 percent of the general personnel are drawing compensation and another 11 percent are on vacation. "About 49 percent of the hospital personnel is not on the premises at any given moment, and so we can only rely on 51 percent to do the work," the director, Dr Jorge Orochena, said in a dramatic description of the situation.

The popular demand for hospital care is multiplying. On the one hand, there are pregnant women on the point of delivery and others with symptoms of imminent miscarriage, while those who have just given birth are required to leave the hospital within 18 hours if there have been no complications. Also, there are the clients of the outpatient services offered in the specialties of this facility--gynecology-obstetrics and the subspecialties of human fertility and oncology, ophthalmology and neonatal care, the latter for newborn babies exclusively.

"This is a hospital being ruined by the excessive demand and on the point of disintegration," Dr Orochena says.

Effect on Patients

Out of every thousand live births, 18.6 percent of the babies die due to such various causes as asphyxia, hypoxia (lack of oxygen in the cells), aspiration of meconial fluid (fetal suffocation), intrahospital infections, such as meningitis, diarrhea and septicemia (generalized infection in the blood), among others.

"The conditions required in a neonatal department, such as space, environmental epidemiological hygiene measures, and even strict discipline as to the hygiene habits of the personnel, are lacking," the director notes.

There is a very limited ward for the intensive care of newborns, with room for only seven incubators. Some 43 cribs and incubators are distributed among the wards for intermediate and minimal care, and the observation ward for newborns has 34 cribs, usually accommodating two babies each.

Recovery is affected by such facilities as the operating rooms, for example, when doctors postpone surgery for lack of properly sterilized materials and equipment. Here the main problem is the "greens," in other words the surgical gowns, caps, masks and shoes.

The average of 45 deliveries per day, about 6 periosteotomies (uterine curettages) per day and a total of 2,567 surgical operations in the past 3 months have increased the demand for hospital clothing, which, in addition, is in short supply. The problem is made more acute by the limited capacity of the laundry and uniform department of the hospital.

It is estimated that hospital garments are washed up to four times every day, because of the constant flow of blood, the characteristic odor of which even hangs in the atmosphere at the facility.

It is definitely disagreeable to see women wrapped in hospital sheets stained with blood in the corridors. Included in this picture, which is moreover obviously unaesthetic, are beds covered only with plastic covers, on which up to three newborns ready to leave the hospital lie side by side, to be replaced by three others almost as soon as the space is vacated.

Is There Mistreatment?

A woman from Ciudad Sandino admitted with symptoms of imminent miscarriage reported that while she lay shivering with chills following a fever in the emergency ward at about 11 am on Sunday, the 19th, a doctor was reading a magazine and ignored her, while a young woman 7 months along told how the doctor asked her if she was pregnant.

Maria Concepcion Chavez, 45, who had come from Los Brasiles to be hospitalized because of a uterine tumor which had been causing hemorrhaging since last November, fainted on a bench in the emergency ward.

Antonia Navarro Cisneros, 18, from the Isaias Gomez district, miscarried 2 days after an emergency visit to the hospital, where she was given "three tablets" and told by the doctor to go home and rest.

"There is no verbal mistreatment, but the patient despairs due to the length of time she must wait and the nature of the care received at the facility, because of our limitations," the administrator, Hilcia Bello Parrales, said.

The unit has 22 gynecologist-obstetricians, 3 oncologists, 3 neonatal specialists, 3 internists, 5 ophthalmologists, 5 anesthesiologists, 2 pathologists, a radiologist, 35 resident physicians and 44 interns. Other personnel includes 779 workers, with 56 graduate nurses and 145 nurses' aides, including 58 new employees in addition to the personnel in service prior to 1985.

The number of medical hours worked dropped in the first quarter of 1986 because three ophthalmologists and three gynecologist-obstetricians resigned during the past year. The estimated totals are 6,519 medical hours worked in 1985, and 5,023 in the first quarter of 1986. According to the international norm, a doctor should work 2,000 hours annually.

Every month, two medical specialists are on vacation, and it is therefore estimated that there is one doctor for every ten hospital beds.

In emergency situations, the personnel are distributed among three shifts. In the morning there are a chief of service, three base-level doctors, two residents, two interns, an emergency chief, a graduate nurse and six nurses' aides on duty.

In the afternoon, there are a base-level physician, one resident and one intern on duty, and at night, one resident physician and an intern. The residents are those completing their 3 years of training in their specialty, and the interns are the doctors in their last years at the Faculty of Medicine, on periodic rotation through each hospital unit.

"I do not regard it as necessary to increase the personnel, but there is a need to reduce the pressure of demand on this hospital," Dr Orochena notes.

Hospital Production

According to international indices, the average stay per hospital bed is 3 to 4 days in gynecological-obstetrical hospitals. At the Bertha Calderon Hospital, the average is 2.6 days. The internationally normed bed use index is 75 to 80 patients per 100 hospital beds, while here it reaches a maximum of 79.7.

Also, according to the norm for turnover per hospital bed, 30 to 35 patients should utilize a hospital bed each year. At the Bertha Calderon Hospital, 23 patients utilized each bed in 3 months' time. The time which elapses between the discharge of a patient and the assignment of a new occupant to a bed should be 1 to 2 days, while at the Women's Hospital in Nicaragua it is less than 24 hours.

In 1985, this facility had 250 beds, and the number has been increased this year to 280, in absolute figures. This does not take into account the factors affecting the use of bed resources, which in real figures total 338, plus those not counted, which are located in the adult observation ward, the newborn observation ward, and the labor and delivery rooms.

Patient costs in terms of bed-days, including the salaries of doctors, residents, interns, nurses, aides, three meals a day, and the cost of support personnel and others, is calculated at more than 9,000 cordobas.

Perinatal Deaths

Perinatal death is second only to diarrhea in terms of the number of newborns lost in Region III. This has to do with all of the work pertaining to pregnancy and childbirth. According to Dr Orochena, effective coverage in terms of prenatal checks would to a great extent avoid perinatal deaths, both before and after birth. Prenatal checks, which are the responsibility of the departments of a health center, could detect a mother's problems, so that she would be referred to High Risk Obstetrics (ARO for determination of possible complications--toxemia, high blood pressure, prediabetic symptoms, renal infection, cardiac disorders, and even fetal position and multiple pregnancy. Once the problems of the mother have been identified, she is referred to the proper specialist, either at the health center or the hospital.

Such a background file gives the doctor better resources for use at the time of delivery, in order to determine the need for a Cesarean section or to take the steps necessary to safeguard the life of the mother and avoid fetal suffocation.

" There are very few patients who come to this hospital with medical records prepared by the health center," Dr Orochena noted. He explained that the risk of death is higher for the newborn than the mother. In the first quarter of 1985, three maternal deaths and one resulting from a tumor occurred at the facility, whereas there have been no deaths during this quarter.

Solutions Needed

According to the director of this center, there can be no solution by special departments, since all of the work of the hospital is integrated, and the greatest damage is being done to the service provided by the excessive demand, lack of labor discipline and absenteeism.

This year, the hospital has lost three specialists, including one who resigned and two on scholarships who have left the country. Unjustified absenteeism has recently been penalized by disciplinary measures. Seven members of the nursing corps and support personnel were dismissed, five were required to sign letters of commitment, and 30 received warnings.

"This is a dirty hospital, due to shortcomings in the support services, such as the laundry, cleaning staff and nursing corps, including stretcher-bearers, clinical secretaries, nursemaids, aides and graduate nurses. Unjustified absences resulted in the loss of 327 man-days, the majority among the nursing staff, which had 131 absences, representing 235 work days lost," the doctor noted.

Also, he went on to say "The ophthalmological specialty should be discontinued at this hospital, because it competes in terms of demand for consultations per patient with gynecology-obstetrics." Orochena recalled that 3 years ago, when it was decided that this facility would serve as a hospital treating women's diseases exclusively, the expansion of its facilities and the removal of the ophthalmological specialty were promised.

The unit has four operating theatres for major surgery, one for minor or emergency surgery and one for minor surgery and oncological radiation (treatment of cancer in women). The same operating rooms are shared for surgery in the specialty dealing with diseases of the eye.

Opinions of the Staff

Luisa Navarrete Espinoza, who is in charge of the laundry and uniform department, says that "We are rather short of personnel, mainly because of the men who have left for military service." There are also those who resign because of the wages paid and the sanitary conditions prevailing in this work.

This department has machinery transferred from the old El Retiro Hospital. The humidity in the premises and the steady rhythm of work without the required maintenance have caused the majority of the machines to deteriorate. There is a new washing machine installed a year ago, but it is not operating due to problems with the electrical system.

Aura Gonzalez, who has worked in this department for 11 years, notes that she feels discouraged by the low wages she receives based on her SNOTS classification. "We do not like the pay, for even a stretcher-bearer earns more than we do. The last chief had no interest in our evaluations and did us a great deal of harm," she says.

Maria Elena Lopez, a cleaning woman, says that the equipment and materials provided for cleaning the hospital are inadequate. "I am going to ask for transfer to laundry," she said.

Julio Miranda, in charge of maintenance, crossed his arms and said: "We need materials in order to work. It is so difficult for us to buy what we need at the hardware stores, and even more so on the central level of the MINSA." The greatest demand for repairs pertains to the air conditioning and lighting systems.

The hospital has currently been allocated 19 million cordobas for general repairs, a figure channeled through Health Region III, which will negotiate the contracts with a Ministry of Construction enterprise. "They came to evaluate repairs 3 months ago, but we still have not had their response," Hilcia Bello, the hospital administrator, said.

New Stocks of Medicines and Materials

The chief of the hospital pharmacy, Eloisa Corrales, who was somewhat reluctant to provide the requested figures on the supplies of medicines, would only speak about the shortage of dextrose serum, the supply of which has been exhausted, and other products such as adriamycin and V-fluorouracil, used in oncological treatment and currently entirely out of stock, and vitamin K for newborn infants.

Concerning replacement stocks of materials, Dr Orochena said they are well provided, thanks to the aid the facility receives from Project Mother. Currently, the hospital has a shortage of sanitary napkins, for which washable cloths are being substituted.

In addition to hospital equipment, including the new washing machines and dryer with a greater capacity, equivalent to two of the present machines, Project Mother has provided an ambulance, and it is continuing to study the needs of the facility.

This project, which was launched a year ago, has as its slogan "a million dollars for Bertha Calderon." It also offers training courses for medical-technical personnel and is building an infant shelter for the children of hospital workers.

Reducing Pressure on the Hospital

The Bertha Calderon Hospital, which also is a teaching facility for medical aides, might be provided some respite if maternity care could be to some extent channeled to other hospital units. If this were done, the people too would benefit, being spared the need to travel long distances to reach the specialized center, since it is expected that there will be 46,000 pregnant women in Managua this year. The Bertha Calderon and Velez Paiz Hospitals accommodate 53 percent of the population, which means that 47 percent receive care at private centers or at home.

The proposed transfer of gynecological-obstetrical services to other hospitals has already been studied on the pertinent levels at the Ministry of Health.

"These studies have already been discussed on the central level and at the Ministry as well, but the final decision on the reorganization of the services has not been made. In our view, this would be the solution to the problem of relieving the pressure on Bertha Calderon," the director of the facility, Jorge Orochena, said in conclusion.

Indiscipline, Absenteeism

Managua BARRICADA in Spanish 26 Apr 86 p 8

[Article by Elsa Gomez]

[Text] The Velez Paiz Maternity-Infant Hospital is not even a shadow of what it was until the end of 1985. Thus far this year, it is estimated that the improvement in its infrastructure, patient care and interhospital human relations comes to more than 70 percent, but in the general opinion of the personnel, the problems of lack of labor discipline and absenteeism remain to be overcome.

All of the indices show that the nursing department accounts for the highest percentage of these factors, which have a direct and adverse effect on the health of the patients. Some 30 percent of those employed here come to work late, daily absenteeism is at 3 percent, and it increases to 13 percent on some shifts, mainly on weekends.

Of the 800 hospital workers, 262 are included in the nursing corps (graduate nurses, nurses' aides, nursemaids, secretaries, stretcher-bearers and medical-technical personnel). About half have worked for more than 30 years; 18 graduate nurses hold administrative posts; 7 of the auxiliary personnel are approaching retirement; about 30 persons are drawing compensation every month; and in the first quarter of this year, 3 persons resigned.

This facility provides orthopedic, surgical, pediatric and gynecological-obstetrical services (supporting the Bertha Calderon Hospital), as well as several subspecialties--infant psychiatry, neonatal care and pediatric odontology. Because of the shortage of nursing personnel, there are 30 persons rotating on 3 24-hour shifts, and only 4 wards have been given priority for the continuing use of this skilled personnel. They are the intensive care, emergency, neonatal and labor and delivery departments.

Only 80 percent of the 140 nurses' aides report regularly for their shifts. Although the priority departments require at least five persons each, only two or three are on duty, including a graduate nurse, while the maternity, recovery, and pediatrics (including nursing mothers, school-age children, infectious diseases, isolation of newborns and others, emergency treatment for adults and pediatric surgery) departments have only nurses' aides on duty.

In the burn ward, nurses' aide Yolanda Vilchez explained that her work is bathing the patients, giving treatment, updating medical orders, prescribing diets and cleaning the unit.

"One day a short time ago, I had to bathe 22 burn patients. This is a service mother-companions are allowed to provide," she said.

Ladies in White

This picture of the nurse, moving tirelessly through the corridors of the hospital, offering a smile or a word of encouragement to the ailing patient 24 hours a day, needs refurbishing. Sandino Arce, head of the nursing department at the Velez Paiz Hospital, says that apart from the shortcomings in the wage scale, there are inadequacies in the professional training at school.

"Discipline and human sensitivity are among the main requirements for nursing. The new generation must take up this challenge unselfishly and make a complete commitment to the profession. One cannot abandon a patient because the shift has ended, because the work here is with the lives of human beings," she said.

She admitted that there are shortcomings and weaknesses which need to be overcome. In this connection she mentioned the establishment of an interhospital disciplinary committee, made up of representatives of the administration, trade union, mass organizations, section heads and party (CBS). "We will reestablish our hospital image," this nurse said enthusiastically.

In order to do so, some checks have been established through the cards recording the arrival of personnel for work, which are examined by the controller's office, calls for personal attention, the requirement that a letter of commitment be signed, and dismissal. This last measure is applied to almost no one because of the paternalism still prevailing in the union, as could be seen in the case of the two nurses reinstated on presentation, 3 weeks after dismissal, of compensation vouchers.

The epidemic of absenteeism among the personnel is reflected in poor patient care, if we take into account the fact that in the month of March alone, 1,181 patients were admitted, and there was a daily average of 41.2 patients per bed.

Among the presumed reasons for absenteeism are night watches or shifts and family problems. Night watches, as provided in the FETSALUD-MINSA agreement, are limited to seven per month, with 25 percent overtime pay per shift. This supplement began to be paid on 1 March of this year.

A wage increase was based on the timely review by the SNOTS, since this occupation had been undervalued. For the general nurse, the wage established was 50,550 cordobas, for a unit head 53,400, for a general hospital supervisor 56,250, for social service aides 30,600, and for certified aides 36,300.

"One of the strategies employed by the hospital to reduce absenteeism was the establishment of a CDI under the administration of the nursing department. The Yolanda Mayorga CDI began operation in 1985 with a capacity of 30 infants. However, these quotas, in the vast majority, are utilized for other personnel, and only 0.5 percent for the nurses. Therefore, the possibility of improving the physical conditions in the premises and increasing night shifts is under study.

"Absenteeism directly affects the expert care and attention the patients need and leads to opportunism, with the whole of the work falling to a few individuals," the nursing head said.

The Absentees

A considerable number of the nursing personnel, it is reported, have been repeatedly absent. For example, Lesbia Lopez Aleman, a graduate nurse, was absent 30 times in 1985, as well as five times up until 24 April of this year. Vilma Betancourt, a graduate nurse, was absent 32 times, in all cases without notice, in 1985, with five more absences up until March. Celenia Torres Morales, a surgical technician, was absent eight times from January to March, and Maria Antonia Martinez, a nurses' aide, was absent nine times during the first quarter of the year.

The personnel department at the Velez Paiz Hospital faces serious problems because of the continuing absenteeism. In these first months of the year, more than 3,000 labor days were reported lost by the personnel. This has been the reason that in only 1 month, more than 600,000 cordobas were paid out in benefits.

Silvia Alvarez, in charge of personnel, has expressed the view that although the center allows mother-companions to contribute to meeting the need for more nursing personnel, the care provided by aides is of primary importance to patients, if we realize that their duties include administering injections, medicines and serums, such that the limited personnel must be moving constantly throughout all of the wards at the facility.

Absenteeism is also frequent among the maintenance personnel (cleaning staff) and the CPF (guards), and the facility has had as many as 15 to 20 persons leave without notice in 1 month, as well. "Many do not give notice that they are resigning, but simply stop coming to work," Alvarez said.

In these cases, the parameters are wages and the lack of material supplies and physical safety. On the other hand, these employees are not included in the incentives program set forth in the FETSALUD-MINSA agreement. The immediate filling of all of the hospital personnel vacancies also involves the bureaucratic procedures established on the central level at the MINSA. In this connection, it can take up to 2 or 3 months to obtain the approval of a new contract, or else new personnel cannot be hired until those retiring obtain final approval and are removed from the controller's payroll list.

Production Goals

Although there are serious limitations in human and material resources, the Velez Paiz Hospital did achieve 80 percent of its health production goals in the first quarter of 1986. During this first quarter, the facility was limited by the inadequate periodic renewal of product stocks. Of the 135 products needed, total replacement was provided for only 26 (14.85 percent), with partial restocking for 27 products (20.61 percent) and none for 78 products (64.54 percent).

Among these products, those most urgently needed by the hospital are elastic bandages and suturing thread. Also, the regional Material Technical Supply Department (ATM) is encountering difficulty in meeting 100 percent of the requirements for sanitary and cleaning products and workshop tools. "In one quarter we received only 25 percent of the needed paper supplies, and we have received no explanation as to why there is not even any detergent," Dr Pedro Tijerino, director of the Velez Paiz Hospital, said.

Also, of the 480 medicines required, the stocks of 167, or in other words 35 percent of the total requisitioned, have dropped to zero. Among these products, the director explained, the vitamin K provided to newborns and antibiotics are of priority importance to the facility.

Other Limitations

Because of both the age of the hospital equipment and the constant changes in electrical voltage, the facility is facing the problem of deterioration in the X-ray equipment, centrifugal machines, microscopes and air-conditioning equipment.

This hospital center, at which 311 surgical operations are carried out in a month, has four operating rooms in normal condition. Basically, they need overhead lighting of 12 candle power, only half of which is provided.

Also, 75 percent of the emergency cases coming into the hospital are not treated properly. In the first quarter of the year, 15,110 children were given emergency treatment, as well as 2,500 adults.

Physical Improvements at the Hospital

A series of remodeling and repair projects for the physical installations at the hospital, with priority for the areas directly involved with patient care, have shown the administrative capacity and willingness to work of the administrative and management personnel at the hospital.

This was in fact achieved beginning with the decentralization of the hospital budget by Health Region III and the corresponding funds allocated for repairs, including 5.6 million for the first quarter of the year. "General cleanup and roof repair are of primary importance for this hospital," the administrator, Teresa Urbina, said.

However, the hospital employees recall with concern the day an outbreak of diarrhea among the infants in the nursing infants' ward was reported. "This was due to poor technical procedures on the part of the milk-laboratory personnel. The proper precautions were not taken in terms of sanitary measures, and so we had a critical situation then. However, we overcame it," the director, Pedro Tijerino, noted.

"We dealt with the attitudes of the leading personnel who were seeking ways of avoiding their responsibilities. Our disciplinary measures have even led to the resignation of three section heads. Perhaps it is better thus, because we need personnel with the will to work," the administrator said.

The efforts to improve the quality of care, attacking and correcting the adverse factors and attitudes affecting patients, are filling the personnel with greater optimism. Even if they are willing to put forth more effort, it is also necessary to deal with the shortage of skilled resources, the mechanisms for hiring personnel and the inadequate supplies of medical products and equipment.

300 Million Allocated

Managua LA PRENSA in Spanish 19 Apr 86 p 8

[Text] The Ministry of Health budget for the maintenance of the hospitals in the country, including maintenance of the leading medical teams, comes to 300 million cordobas.

Our sources said that the lack of funds to meet the most minimal needs of the hospitals has been a factor in the very serious deterioration of many of these hospital centers. However, they said, more attention will be devoted to them now.

In the hospitals in Managua, where broken windows, benches for the public in poor condition, filth, inadequate lighting due to the lack of bulbs or fluorescent tubes are visible everywhere, these conditions have not been corrected.

Also, personnel on the medical and paramedical staffs who are members of the FETSALUD have reported that thefts are very frequently committed in the hospital centers in Managua, involving items ranging from small apparatus and surgical instruments to tools and implements, as well as bed linen and other items.

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NICARAGUA

INDE ELECTS NEW OFFICIALS, REPORTS ON 1985 ACTIVITIES

Managua LA PRENSA in Spanish 15, 16 May 86 pp 1, 6

[Text] On Thursday the 13th, the Nicaraguan Development Institute (INDE) held its annual assembly in Camino Real, with leaders from the various departmental chapters in the country attending.

Los Sombreros Hall where the assembly was held proved to be too small to hold the hundreds of enthusiastic members of INDE and special guests, who had to find places in the hotel corridors as well.

In a solemn atmosphere following the national anthem, Father Caballero of the Jesuit Order led a prayer for the strength and fruitful advancement of INDE, whose programs are designed to consolidate the social and economic development of Nicaragua.

INDE Executive Board member Pedro Gutierrez was assigned the task of presenting to the assembly the 1984-85 financial report detailing the balance of the combined financial statements of INDE and its FUNDE [Nicaraguan Development Foundation] and Educredito programs.

The next to speak was INDE President Gilberto Cuadra, who gave the president's report.

"Despite the current crisis, INDE is doing an excellent job, in meeting the goal of promoting social progress and development for all members of society and primarily among the neediest classes, and of encouraging individual initiative," Guadra said.

"INDE, which was founded 4 September 1963, has, through its various programs, set up production, savings and service cooperatives, granted fellowships for students and, without acting paternalisticly, it has encouraged Nicaraguan citizens to excel, either individually or collectively," the president of the institution asserted.

He said that great social achievements are currently being made under INDE programs, which are furthering private enterprise, both technically and from a social standpoint, including the development and application of social justice for all.

After concluding his report to heavy applause. The election of members of INDE's Executive Board was announced as a high point on the agenda.

All the delegations from INDE's various departmental chapters participated democratically in the election: Jinotega, Matagalpa, Granada, Rivas, Leon, Chinandega, Masaya and Managua.

INDE's executive board ended up with the following members: Gilberto Cuadra, president; Roberto Cardenal, vice president; Ernesto Salazar, treasurer; Carlos Noguera, assistant treasurer; and Silvio Sandino, Nicolas Bolanos, Benjamin Lanzas, Manuel Callejas, Ana Maria Gutierrez, Pedro Gutierrez, Silv Silviano Matamoros, Enrique Flores, Guillermo Jimenez, Roger Cabrera, Aaron Guerrero and Frank Lanzas, members of the board with their respective responsibilities.

During the successful assembly, Enrique Bolanos Geyer, president of the Higher Council of Private Enterprise (COSEP), gave a rousing and patriotic speech in which he stressed the monumental struggle private enterprise is engaged in, through its various institutions (INDE, COSEP and affiliated chambers), to ensure the development and well-being of the Nicaraguan people, on the basis of "democratic principles governing society while promoting development and social justice for all as the solution to the country's problems."

After recalling the efforts and ideals behind the founding of INDE by enlightened men, all from the private sector, Bolanos Geyer said: "INDE, bound by these mandates freely and voluntarily included in its statues by those great men who conceived it, spares no effort in its zeal to find national solutions. It has decided first to help the neediest and has therefore set up FUNDE (Nicaraguan Development Foundation), which with incentives, ideas, courses and even speedy and cheap financing, assists all Nicaraguans who freely wish and need to earn their own living and provide for their families through cooperative, join efforts." "Cooperatives have proliferated to such an extent that in the Nicaraguan lexicon, cooperativism has become synonomous with FUNDE," he added.

INDE has also set up Educredito to grant fellowships and cheap financing for youth who are eager to improve their lot and need to study. It offers everything from courses for workers up to advanced university degrees in or out of the country. INDE also encourages community development, assisting with donations to development programs in various communities, Bolanos Geyer pointed out.

In his speech he also referred to COSEP's brilliant career, which started on 16 February 1972 at INDE's initiative.

COSEP was founded for the specific purpose of coordinating, grouping gathering together and uniting all the organizations in the private sector which were previously dispersed, so that they could, as a single unit, actively and decisively participate, with clear objectives, in solving the nation's problems, in the general interest of the country and for the common good.

COSEP is now a separate institution of INDE, having been dropped from it so that it could better fulfill its mission.
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PERU

CHIMBOTE BISHOP SEEKS DIALOG WITH SHINING PATH

Lima EQUIS X in Spanish 26 May 86 pp 32-36

[Interview with Chimbote Bishop Luis Bambaren by Teodoro Flores Llontop: "I Want to Talk with Mezzich"; Date and Place Not Given]

[Text] Now 58 years old, years which, in his own words, have been "well spent and full of work," Monsignor Luis Bambaren Gastelumendi, bishop of Chimbote, is one of the highest ranking critics of the Catholic Church in Peru, together iwith Gustavo Gutierrez, the author of the theology of liberation.

His progressive position, compared to the conservatism which he had previously displayed in the church, an important national institution, perhaps is due to his rural upbringing which has made it possible for him to live with and to know close up the misery and poverty which our poor people have to contend with.

Born in the mountain city of Yungay, Monsignor Bambaren has been bishop of Chimbote for the past 8 years, following fruitful work done in the outlying areas of Lima. In Chimbote he is known as the bishop of the young people. Like Pope John Paul II, the leader of the Catholic Church, Bishop Bambaren carries on an intense program of evangelization, supported principally by young people influenced by the slogan which Pope John Paul II left behind when he visited our country in February 1985: "Hunger for God, yes; hunger for bread, no." At each meeting with the young people of Chimbote he makes them see the importance not only of loving our geographic fatherland but loving the living fatherland made up of the 20 million people of Peru.

[Question] Hello!

[Answer] Yes, hello!

[Question] I would like to speak with Monsignor Bambaren, please.

[Answer] You're speaking to him.

[Question] Monsignor, good morning. We are speaking to you from the magazine EQUIS X. We are sorry to bother you, but we would like to ask you if you would give us an interview.

[Answer] Over the telephone?

[Question] Well, yes. At the moment we cannot travel to Chimbote, where you are.

[Answer] Well, what do you wish to discuss?

[Question] We would like to discuss matters connected with the violence our country suffers from day by day.

[Answer] That's fine. Start right in.

In this way, with the friendliness proper to men of the cloth, Luis Bambaren, bishop of Chimbote, listened to EQUIS X. The controversial bishop of the present day Catholic Church in Peru analyzed the present situation and repeated, through our publication, his urgent desire to meet with Julio Cesar Mezzich, the respected, second ranking leader of Sendero Luminoso [Shining Path]. He wanted to persuade him to lay down his rifle and machinegun, exchanging them for a table and a couple of chairs and remember those far off times when the bishop was the professor and the rebel was his student.

Rejecting Civil War

[Question] Monsignor, in view of the most recent developments in our country do you think that we are moving toward peace or, on the contrary, are we traveling along a cliff, below which we can see civil war?

[Answer] It is clear that what is happening in our country in terms of social peace and tranquility is not as encouraging as we say it is. I agree that we are not in any way moving toward peace, as you have said so graphically. The events that have occurred in the past few months make it impossible for us to say that the violence which began 6 years ago is about to be brought under control or that the security forces have finally succeeded in reestablishing peace. Already, through its different authorities, the has been saying this for some time: violence begets violence, and the things that happen every day seem to confirm this. But what I don't agree with is that we are the road leading to civil war. May God save us from that punishment. On the other hand, I consider that we are heading toward another war of the "silent" kind, whose results are also worrisome and dangerous. Violence is always destructive and harmful. Whenever violence is present in our national life, Peru will find its development more difficult to achieve. If, once and for all, we want to achieve the peace we all want so much, we should begin by educating ourselves, since it is only by conscientious training that we will be able to defend our lives and be able to build, at the same time, a peaceful atmosphere in which coexistence is really civilized.

[Question] Speaking of the most extreme case, is the possibility of a civil war still out of the question? Despite the most recent, bloody episodes which our people have found so disturbing?

[Answer] Don't speak in apocalyptic terms. I reject the possibility of a civil war because the behavior of the different subversive groups operating in Peru is different from the behavior of such groups elsewhere. For example, look at the situation in Central America. There the groups engaged in the conflict have formed real armies which have entrenched themselves in certain, geographic areas and which are fighting against other armies. That is, the armed forces charged with defending the constitutional order of their respective countries. On the other hand, the strategy followed by the rebels in this country who have taken up arms against the government is sabotage. Here there is no rebel army but rather groups which take part in isolated actions. By using this simple argument I am sure that there is not even a remote chance that there will be a civil war in Peru.

[Question] Do you also reject the possibility that an "Argentine" type situation will arise in the security forces in order to fight against the rebellion?

[Answer] I repeat, the situation in Peru is different. The behavior of the Argentine military in repressing subversion in their nation should serve only as an example. History is life's teacher, my friend.

Shining Path and the Church

[Question] And what can you say about the comments made by Pablo Macera, the historian, who states that there is only one alternative for the future of our country: either the Army or the Shining Path.

[Answer] If the situation is going to be solved on a battlefield, he may be right. However, I hope that this will never happen. Above all of the clashes between civilians and the military, I think that the future is in the hands of all of us Peruvians who love this land which was our place of birth. Regarding the predictions by this historian, which you refer to, I see no better argument for the members of Shining Path, if, in fact, they wish to do honor to their name and if, in fact, they are really shining, to turn around and confront the security forces in an open way. They should demonstrate their courage against the Army and not by murdering humble peasants whose only crime is that they did not want to join the ranks of Sendero Luminoso. These peasants have been executed, following what are called "people's acts of justice." They are very brave in dealing with the peasants but not with those who are prepared to fight back against them, as is only proper.

[Question] In view of the seriousness of the events which face us now, do you still think, after several months have gone by, that the decision by the church not to take part in the Peace Commission was correct and timely?

[Answer] I think so, and I say this for the following reasons. In the Peace Commission no organizations or institutions are represented--only individuals. If the structure of this commission had been based on institutions, the church could not have declined to participate in an effort whose objective is to find peace. However, the non-participation by the church in this group headed by Dr Fernando Cabieses Molina does not mean that we religious leaders have folded our arms and are doing nothing to put an end to violence. By way of example, I will say that we have sent a group of missionaries made up of men and women to the Department of Ayacucho, with specific instructions which are part of a pacification plan we have developed. Their work specifically consists of providing help of an educational and legal kind, and they know how to handle cases of habeas corpus, asylum, and so forth. On the other hand the church has intensified its efforts in other fields, like the program which will be carried out on 24 June, when the Fourth Day of Prayer and Reflection for Peace will be held throughout the country. In all dioceses of the country this day of prayer will be an occasion when we Christians should reflect on the value of life at times as difficult as the present. However, we should not only meditate on the dangers of terrorism but also pray that kidnappings and crimes should not continue to occur in our daily life.

Dialog

[Question] Monsignor, some time ago you announced your desire to enter into a dialog with members of Sendero Luminoso. Specifically, you said that these conversations could be held with Julio Cesar Mezzich, who is considered the lieutenant of Abimael Guzman. Do you still have this intention?

[Answer] The church has always been, and still is, prepared to enter into a dialog with everyone, and even more so with those people who have declared war on democracy. Regarding a possible meeting with Mezzich, I reiterate my proposal. In fact, I would like to talk to him because some years ago he was one of my students. For this reason I believe that he would be able to listen to me. I would like to take this opportunity which EQUIS X provides me with to renew my call to Julio Cesar--and this is the fourth time I have done so. And I do this because, I repeat, I know him and also know his parents. I was his teacher during his first year at La Inmaculada College and even up to 1963, when he completed second year. I recall that he was a good student, very sports-minded, a little reserved, which did not make me suspect in any way that later on he would have radical ideas. He never spoke of the class struggle.

[Question] A person on the other side stated, in a clear response to you, that if someone wants to talk to someone else, he should go out to see him. That is, you should do the same.

[Answer] But where should I go? I only hope that he understands this through the communications media and, on this occasion EQUIS X is the bearer of my message. In case this should happen, my first words to Julio Cesar would be to ask him what was the reason for his very radical ideological change and why he has chosen this path, as he has had Christian training and has parents and brothers and sisters who are also Christians. Another of the questions which I would ask would be why he holds so little regard for the lives of others. No one has the right to decide to take the life of anyone else. I would also make him see that he is just being used by people whose objectives are only destruction for the sake of destruction and that no one has gained from this. What regime in the world supports the ideology of Sendero Luminoso? None. I think that he should understand this. Although I consider that it would be difficult, I don't think that it would be impossible to talk with him, for you have to keep in mind that he and his companions don't believe in any kind of dialog. They profess and practice the armed struggle and think that they will build a new society on the foundation of death. God grant that Mezzich will see the light of reason and take the path followed by his friends, Morales Bermudez, Blancas Bustamente, and Romero Caro, who are now ministers of state.

[Question] Apart from your good intentions, do you think that a dialog between representatives of the parties to the conflict could be carried on through the pages of a communications medium, which is what EQUIS X is proposing?

[Answer] Well, Sendero Luminoso does not accept a dialog under any terms. Therefore, I think that it will be a little difficult for them to sit down and talk. They have embarked on an armed struggle, and the efforts being made to dissuade them from continuing will have little influence. Regarding the initiative taken by your magazine, I think that this should be the attitude of all good Peruvians. Dialog is necessary, since I view with alarm the fact that most of the subversives are adolescents 16 to 18 years old, and this reminds me of a phrase of Christ's: "From the heart spring forth thoughts, words, and actions. It is not the gun which kills but rather the man who kills." So we have to work for the conversion of people's hearts.

[Question] A last question, monsignor. What is your personal position regarding the reestablishment of the death penalty in our laws?

[Answer] I am totally against the death penalty. However, I am very respectful of opinions contrary to my own on this subject. The death penalty is not the right way to eradicate violence and is not useful as a means of repressing the crimes carried out against society, although we should not forget that the death penalty is being carried out every day. I refer to the immense number of abortions which occur every day. Hundreds of children are murdered by this method. We also have to punish these crimes, since the life of every human being is sacred from the moment of his conception.

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VENEZUELA

SUCCESSIVE POLLS SHOW PREFERENCE FOR ANDRES PEREZ

Caracas EL DIARIO DE CARACAS in Spanish 19 May 86 p 25

[Text] The latest MERCANALISIS poll, with simple (but difficult) questions, put the "polls" in confrontation with recent past history.

The public (probed, polled, and queried) avoided fleeting doubts and pangs of memory to make itself current in what is termed updated opinion.

The latest "electoral results" published by MERCANALISIS indicate that former President Carlos Andres Perez [CAP] certainly carries 15 (points), the maximum on the honor roll, in response to a simple but difficult question: What person do you think could do a better job as president of the next government?

Rafael Caldera, if not outstanding, ranked close to the larger number of points received by his successor in the seat of all worries. Nevertheless, Eduardo Fernandez exceeded by 2 points (which are not small points where polls are concerned) his supreme leader and party comrade.

From Jose Vicente Rangel to Canache Mata, there was little support from those polled. The former two shared 3, 1, and 0.2 points with David Morales Bello, Arturo Uslar Pietri, Oswaldo Alvarez Paz, Jorge Olavarria, Octavio Lepage, and Reinaldo Leandro Mora.

With regard to the next government, the MERCANALISIS poll brings the clearcut tone of that saying that every Adeco [follower of AD (Democratic Action)] is an Adeco; especially (see attached table) if he is an "Adeco from the present group itself." There are 14 points representing chances for Adecos with a different pipe to smoke; 11 for COPEI [Social Christian Party], and so on down, as far as the 3 points which expressed the opinion of those polled with no idea of what could be better (or worse) than the present government.

"How has the present government been?" A total of 2.84 percent of the 1,000 persons polled in March of this year said (predominantly) "fair."

In any case, at present, what person do you think could do a better job as president of the next government?

Base	Total	Base	Total
	1000		1000
Carlos Andres Perez	15	Jaime Lusinchi	1
Rafael Caldera	11	Marcos Perez Jimenez	0.9
Eduardo Fernandez	13	Luis Pinerua Ordaz	0.7
Jose V. Rangel	5	Military	0.6
David Morales Bello	3	Maiz Vallenilla	0.5
Arturo Uslar Pietri	3	Maza Zavala	0.4
Teodoro Petkoff	3	Manuel Azpurua	0.3
Oswaldo Alvarez Paz	1	Montiel Ortega	0.3
Jorge Olavarria	3	Manuel Penalver	0.2
Octavio Lepage	1	Orlando Fernandez	0.2
Reinaldo Leandro Mora	1	Others	1
Carlos Canache Mata	0.2	No one/don't know	30

If, at the end of its term, the present government proves to be good or bad, which of the following would be best to govern Venezuela starting in 1989?

Base	Good	Bad
	1000	1000
Adeco from same current group	32	1
Adeco from group other than the current	14	12
Copeyano [COPEI member]	11	19
Masista [Movement Toward Socialism member]	3	6
More radical Socialist	5	9
Independent	10	17
New party with new ideas	17	24
Spontaneous authoritarian party indicated	.	1
Other	.	.
None of them	4	5
Don't know	3	6

With the greatest sincerity, considering the possible positive "things" and the possible negative "things," how has the present government been for the country?

Analysis Through Studies

Base	March 84	August 84	November 84	March 85
	1000	1000	1000	1000
Excellent	12	5	4	4
Good	49	25	20	21
Fair	31	51	55	53
Bad	2	10	12	13
Very bad	..	7	8	8
Don't know/ no comment	6	3	1	*

Only if they said fair:				
Fair/good	..	..	..	..
Fair/bad	..	..	..	..
	3.73	3.11	2.99	3.00
	(good)	(fair/good)	(fair)	(fair)

Base	July 85	September 85	December 85	March 86
	1000	1000	1000	1000
Excellent	3	3	4	2
Good	19	20	20	18
Fair	54	59	55	51
Bad	15	10	13	17
Very bad	9	9	7	11
Don't know, no comment	1	*	2	1
Only if they said fair:				
Fair/good	..	..	..	33
Fair/bad	..	..	..	18
	2.91	2.98	2.99	2.84
	(fair)	(fair)	(fair)	(fair)

In your opinion, the serious situation that the country is undergoing is a result of...

Base:	Total
	1000
This government's incompetence	25
The bad previous government	14
The reduction in oil revenue	38
The last two previous governments (CAP, LHC)	2
CAP governments	1
All the previous governments	13
Other	2
Don't know/don't remember	3

In the next 12 months, will the country's economy improve, worsen, or remain the same; and what about your personal financial situation?

Analysis Through Studies

Base	March 84	March 86
	1000	1000
Will improve	55	21
Same	23	26
Will worsen	18	50
Don't know	4	3
Will improve	51	36
Same	32	37
Will worsen	14	24
Don't know	3	4

Finally, whether or not you are very active in politics, with the ideas of which party do you most agree? How and in what direction should the country be governed?

	Analysis Through Studies	
Base	August 84	March 86
	1000	1000
AD	46	34
COPEI	14	20
MAS	8	8
Other	8	8
None/no comment	24	30

2909
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EDUARDO FERNANDEZ 1988 PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDACY VIEWED

Caracas EL DIARIO DE CARACAS in Spanish 16 May 86 p 21

[Article by Conrado Contreras: "Eduardo Fernandez' Responsibility"]

[Text] The latest Gaither political opinion poll places Eduardo Fernandez in the position of an indisputable aspirant for the 1988 COPEI [Social Christian Party] candidacy. Preferred by 29 percent of the electoral population, only three points from Carlos Andres Perez, and 12 percent removed from Caldera, Eduardo Fernandez must start seriously thinking of imaginative, coherent, and effective responses for coping with the serious national problems.

His success is due to two preeminent factors: his youth, because this is a young country (70 percent under age 21) which to date has not had the opportunity to elect a young president; and, on the other hand, his correct strategy for simultaneously achieving a firm, responsible opposition and avoiding the paternalism imposed by Caldera. Through a message basedon authenticity, he has gained the essential support of the majority sectors (the youth and the less privileged social strata), the ones most seriously stricken by over 6 consecutive years of recession, without having resorted to anti-business populist rhetoric.

His main vulnerability lies in the plan of the economic program. In an interview granted a few weeks ago to NUMERO, Eduardo Fernandez cited the need for teaching Venezuelans that money is a positive asset. We hope that his economic program will have no connection with the communitarianism of Abdon Vivas Teran and his "vanguard boys," who worship socialist poverty. We have had enough of poverty, or at least of a reduction in real income, during the last two governments. Eduardo Fernandez could be advised by independent economists, such as Emeterio Gomez, Hugo Romero, Oscar A. Echeverria, Antonio Casas Gonzalez, Ricardo Haussman, and Pedro Palma, as well as other experts who would contribute to devising a really new economic program, courageously dissociating themselves from the previous Social Christian economic policies.

COPEI's victory in 1988 is not yet ensured. It will be no easy task to oppose a figure with the charisma, the capacity for mobilizing material resources, and the network of supporters strategically located in key areas of our society, of Carlos Andres Perez.

Calderism, for its part, is being forced by public opinion to begin its final withdrawal. The times when Caldera could decide by pointing a finger on the appointment of the party's leading authorities and the composition of the lists of congressmen or council members have reached an end. If the old founder, instead of remaining tied to his unfeasible presidential ambitions (largely encouraged by "Calderists" of all ages who feel insecure faced with the generational replacement), which are costing him a rapid loss of his political effectiveness, generously offers Eduardo Fernandez the valuable contribution of his broadest support and his acknowledged prestige, the COPEI candidate will have a very special opportunity to overcome our archaic method of engaging in politics: a halfway-democracy, based on populist formulas and on the concept of politics as a struggle for merely holding power, the timely neutralization of any potential adversary, and the deals made with the opposition party with a view toward mutual concealment of the system's aberrations, prominent among which is corruption, instead of eradicating them. The agreement among the elites with immediatist goals incompatible with the ethics of democracy is its most dangerous enemy, because it threatens to cause its disappearance without the voters' noticing it. Its current operation in Venezeula is far removed from the level of requirement inherent in the Western democracies, with regard to the exercise of individual freedoms and the ordinary citizen's control over government activities.

Concurrently, and as a result of Eduardo Fernandez' dynamic rise, Oswaldo Alvarez Paz has begun to differentiate himself from Calderism; something that was predictable in view of his innovative and challenging speeches, and his obvious criticism of the traditional operation of the political institutions, which is not in keeping with the method of engaging in politics inherent in Calderism. It is too late for Oswaldo to compete with Eduardo for the nomination to the candidacy. What he is really seeking is to accumulate the greatest amount of political capital with an eye on the post of secretary general. Along with Eduardo Fernandez, Oswaldo Alvarez Paz is the most competent leader with the most promising prospects in COPEI. His main contribution has been to legitimize the overt exercise of opposition within the party, and he owes to this his acceptance among the decisive independent electorate. But his possible delay in giving firm, solid support for Eduardo Fernandez' plan could be interpreted as a personalist position, when his efforts, as well as those of other leaders in COPEI, are necessary to construct a strong option based on new ideas. In essence, beyond the parochial irrelevancies championed by old Eduardists and Oswaldists who are tearing their hair, there are no major differences in thinking between the two leaders.

Eduardo Fernandez' real adversary is not and will not be Carlos Andres Perez, or whoever is named AD [Democratic Action] candidate. Internally, it is not Rafael Caldera, much less Oswaldo Alvarez Paz. It is an adversary of truly giant proportions, but not an invincible one. It is the populist method of fighting for power and exercising it, deeply rooted in our political culture; but one that could be overcome, owing to the favorable changes that our society has undergone in the educational and cultural areas, and the quantitative and qualitative growth of the elite, taken as a whole.

Along with the other leaders who have a chance for victory in the coming elections (by and large, Carlos Andres Perez), the opportunity that Eduardo Fernandez has to reverse the decline in our public institutions and to change the essence of our economic strategy is a privilege, and, at the same time, an exclusive responsibility.

2909
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END

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Latin America Report

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10 JULY 1986

LATIN AMERICA REPORT

CONTENTS

BRAZIL

Emergence of 'Arena' Party for Sarney Likely in 1987
(O ESTADO DE SAO PAULO, 20 May 86)........................ 1

Sarney Views Church-State Relations, Parliamentary System
(Carlos Chagas; O ESTADO DE SAO PAULO, 29 May 86)......... 4

Civilian-Military Perceptions, Roles Discussed in Sao Paulo
(O ESTADO DE SAO PAULO, 28 May 86)........................ 7

Numerous Eleventh-Hour Changes in Party Affiliation Noted
(O ESTADO DE SAO PAULO, 14 May 86)........................ 9

Territorial Conflicts Among Cabinet Ministers Analyzed
(A.C. Scartezini; CORREIO BRAZILIENSE, 11 May 86)......... 11

Shifts in Political Alliances, Conflicts Since 1982 Viewed
(O ESTADO DE SAO PAULO, 4 May 86)......................... 16

Only 7 of Original 23 Bionic Senators May Return to Senate
(O ESTADO DE SAO PAULO, 27 May 86)........................ 19

Maciel Prepares Memo on Viability of Political Model
(O ESTADO DE SAO PAULO, 27 May 86)........................ 21

Hungary Seeks To Expand Trade
(HETI VILAGGAZDASAG, 3 May 86)............................ 24

Briefs

Crop Reduction Forecast Reduced 26

SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY

Independence in Satellite, Rocket Technology Seen by 1990
(Durval Ferreira; MANCHETE, 31 May 86)..................... 27

CHILE

Radical Party Secretary General on Dialogue, Reconciliation
(Ricardo N. Beganzo Interview; COSAS, 29 May 86).......... 32

Relations With South Africa Seen Expanding
(Heraldo Munoz; MENSAJE, No 349)........................... 38

Political Attitudes, Trends Surveyed in Poll
(HOY, 26 May-1 Jun 86)..................................... 45

Teachers Overwhelmingly Reject Municipalization Project
(HOY, 2-8 Jun 86).. 62

Palma Defines Youth Role in Defense of Democracy
(Andres P. Irarrazabal Interview; HOY, 2-8 Jun 86)........ 65

Weekly Reviews Military Purchases, Suppliers
(Pamela Jiles; ANALISIS, 27 May-2 Jun 86)................. 69

Weekly Reports on Shipment of Unreliable Cluster Bombs
(Osvaldo Muray; CAUCE, 2-8 Jun 86)......................... 78

CUBA

Workers at Nuclear Plant Pledge Increase in Productivity
(GRANMA, 25 Apr 86).. 82

Stores Equipped With Precision Scales To Buy Coins, Jewelry
(Fernando Davalos; GRANMA, 25 Apr 86)..................... 83

Alleged Book by Bofill Traced by Writer
(Jose L. Fuentes; EL CAIMAN BARBUDO, May 86).............. 85

Inspections Show Energy-Saving Tips Going Unheeded
(Joaquin Oramas; GRANMA, 15 Apr 86)....................... 90

Energy Inefficiencies in Minbas Enterprises
(Joaquin Oramas; GRANMA, 25 Apr 86)....................... 91

Briefs

Movie Cassettes for Rent 93

MEXICO

Bishop Lona Discusses Tehuantepec CEB's, Political Groups
(Monsignore A. Lona; CHRISTUS, Mar 86).................... 94

Briefs

Nuevo Leon Worker Dismissals 108

/12675

BRAZIL

EMERGENCE OF 'ARENA' PARTY FOR SARNEY LIKELY IN 1987

Sao Paulo O ESTADO DE SAO PAULO in Portuguese 20 May 86 p 3

[Text] Brasilia--What seemed an absurdity and a practical impossibility a year ago has become a proposal which is not only feasible, but also achievable and even probable. It is the development during or immediately after the work of the Constituent Assembly in 1987 of a large party supporting President Jose Sarney.

The most recent shifts in the party picture, which occurred prior to the 15th, illustrated something more than the doctrinary fragility of the major parties. They revealed the absolute predominance of personal factors in the tit-for-tat exchange which has just benefited the PFL and weakened the PMDB, despite the fact that it remains the major force, and pushed the PDS further toward the edge. It assured almost all of the groups and factions which have bubbled up a guarantee a place in the sun in what will be the most intensive electoral dispute in recent decades. Nothing else is happening, either as a premise or a consequence, in the processes under way for the selection of candidates. There are no parties, except for the ideological minorities scattered among some small groups. What does exist is conglomerates of different concerns, almost anguished concerns, because the only reality of interest now is the vast mass of candidates and the reelection. Or election, for the newer ones, in each and every way equal to the older ones.

The comment once made by Tancredo Neves to the effect that in an election, the only awful thing is losing, is being taken literally. To win, the candidates will do anything, ignoring the most basic party principles. One cannot identify just one PMDB, but several, inasmuch as the party program serves only as a context for the candidates. The same thing is seen with the PFL, and a great deal of space could be wasted listing the individuals who have nothing to do one with the other although they have sheltered under the same umbrella. Miguel Arraes and Nelson Carneiro share as much in common as Orestes Quercia and Waldir Pires, that is to say nothing at all, although all four are state gubernatorial candidates. But would this comparison be any different if we were speaking of Josaphat Marinho and Carlos Chiarelli? Or Adauto Bezerra and Itamar Franco?

Formally arranged for the sake of appearances, the party framework has in reality imploded and it is on this basis that certain government leaders, very well-placed in the cabinet and the Planalto Palace (an obvious coincidence), and also nominally distributed between the PFL and the PMDB, are working. Those who are thinking of Marco Maciel are right, but more is needed, because there are many who, like the head of the Civilian Household, see a failure of the whole. Until 15 March 1985, the party framework was operating in simple and Manichaeistic fashion, despite dissidence in the PDS. The need to oppose the military regime which was coming to an end and to favor the emerging New Republic increased, in a reversal of the earlier reality. The optimists imagined that the most that would happen in the future would be an increase in the number of supporters of the present and a decrease in the already limited number of cultists of the past, but within the same groups, that is to say with a swelling of the PMDB and PFL ranks and a dwindling in the PDS. Only this was the beginning, not the end, of the new change occurring.

Perhaps with Tancredo Neves in the government, it would have been possible for matters to continue thus for some time, but with Jose Sarney, developments speeded up. If "he" could, why can't we? If "he" started off in one direction, why not follow in his footsteps, even though proceeding in the other direction?

The factors in the equation were maliciously confused, since Sarney, in making a change, risked everything, abandoning the PDS while he still seemed to be a winner, and placing himself in danger of immediate political exile if he did not win the support of many people. But these are only details today, now that we have seen the results. Having guessed right, the government has ironically provided the example for the breakup of the parties. What is needed now is to find the space for the electoral campaign, and if possible, to win. And at the cost of the demoralization of the political parties, over which few will grieve.

It will be precisely at this point, then, that once the polls have opened in the coming elections, those who have cast their lot with the only remaining force, the government of President Jose Sarney, will begin their work. Despite all the proposals and statements, it remains obvious that the Planalto Palace will have a whole range of postulates to set forth or maintain with the new constitution. It would be stupid if it did not act thus. To the extent, then, that the government begins to work to get its constitution approved, it will attract toward it vast numbers of segments and groups. But without any concern as to party origin, among other things because the parties do not know what they want and do not have constitutional outlines, projects and definitions. The divider of the waters, whether or not it comes from the provisional constitutional study commission, will set the government thinking on one side in the Constituent Assembly work, while it may place the very few ideological opponents to it on the other.

In practice, a broad new force will be created to carry out the palace distribution, with the "major" parties lacking the capacity to influence it, much less amend it. It may be that one governor or another will take his place on the other side, but the majority, like the federal benches, will have no way to do so, for lack of an alternative, for one thing, or due to necessity. The time will then come for someone, acting in innocence or malice, to declare that the fly in the ointment has been found. With a view to its operation during the Constituent Assembly or immediately afterward, it would be more practical and efficient to give this large group a name, or, to speed things up, an ideology.

Overall, the prediction that the PJS, even if identified by some other initials, will inexorably come into existence, is valid. It will come, whether during the day or in the wee small hours. Taking the different proportions and situations into account, it was thus that the ARENA came into being during the ides of 1965. It put it forth that it was the party of the revolution, created to support its proposals and achievements, although to speak the truth it was the party of power, created by an act of force and because of the desire of the political majority to maintain a party cover. Things seem no different now, although everything has been reversed, since the government supports democracy and rejects authoritarianism. So much the better, but the final outcome will be the same. With the passage of time, and depending on unforseeable circumstances, the predictable minor opposition may be created and may grow and develop. Thesis and antithesis will continue to produce synthesis, which in turn will become a new thesis leading to a new antithesis.

5157
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SARNEY VIEWS CHURCH-STATE RELATIONS, PARLIAMENTARY SYSTEM

Sao Paulo O ESTADO DE SAO PAULO in Portuguese 29 May 86 p 11

[Article by Carlos Chagas: "Quarrelling with the Church? I Gather"]

[Text] "Quarrelling with the Church? Heaven forbid. That is the last thing I would do. Also, because, if there were not another thousand reasons, on the day thereafter, Dona Kiola would land in Brasilia, wielding a broom, to come after me." With this gentle comment, referring to the reaction from his mother in case of a deterioration of relations between the government and the Church, President Sarney began yesterday to analyze--for the reporter from O ESTADO and from JORNAL DA TARDE--the rise in temperature recorded among sectors on either side in recent days.

He had not read the interview granted the evening before by Dom Ivo Lorscheiter which was quite harsh. Informed about its terms, he preferred to pursue the way of understanding and dialogue, saying that he had full knowledge of and supported the social role of the Church and the services it renders to society. As he understands it, this ecclesiastic view of the modern world is of the utmost importance in the effort to correct social injustices. As a practicing Catholic he agrees in general and specific terms. He obviously disagrees with statements attributed to Dom Ivo who charged the administration with being "fascist" because it refused to allow foreign missionaries to enter the country. "Since I took office, more than 90 entry visas have already been issued for foreign priests and seven or eight are still being processed through channels; this is perfectly natural."

For Sarney, the agricultural reform expresses the government's determination and will be instituted. This process is already going on, as he emphasized, recalling his series of statements on the topic, one of which was made a year ago on the occasion of the Fourth Congress of Agriculture Workers. According to the president, it is important for public authority to promote the changes necessary within a climate of peace and concord. That includes settling conflicts in the rural areas and putting an end to injustice and violence, both of which are incompatible with Christian ideals. The legacy of Tancredo Neves persuaded the administration to work hard toward the creation of better living conditions in the rural areas, within standards of reconciliation. Implementing the Land Law means respecting the rural inhabitant and guaranteeing millions of Brazilians the right not to suffer the most degrading of human privations, in other words, hunger. By developing agriculture and guaranteeing jobs for farm workers, we will also get the industries to produce more and we will be able to do away with unemployment in the cities through this kind of work. Guaranteeing land ownership for those who want to work the land is not only an act of reparation for a historical omission which has been going on for centuries but is also a political decision which takes care of the shortcomings of the present and which anticipates the needs of the future. The agrarian reform is not directed against land ownership. It is a means for democratizing it and making it accessible to millions of Brazilians. It is a government program, not a burst of rhetoric. It is a political project, not an exercise in ideological affirmation. It is a search for solution without traumas. In this sense, the Church deserves full praise for what it has done in seeking to settle conflicts, helping the unprotected, and reviving the divine promise that lies in the redemption of those who have suffered injustices. We want justice in the rural areas and we also want that which God gave to man: Peace on earth.

Yesterday morning, in talking to the reporter, Sarney was looking forward to a very busy day. He confirmed the regisnation of Minister Nelson Ribeiro, on his request, and he revealed that Pedro Dantas, president of INCRA [National Institute of Land Rèform and Settlement], also requested to be relieved of his duties. He said he would take care of both of these matters and that he was inclined to change the group which until now has been working on the agrarian reform issue. But he was doing this on the basis of their initiative since they are the ones who want to leave. He praised both of them, including the dignified way in which Pedro Dantas went to see him the night before, since he believed that he had become the source of problems with Nelson Ribeiro.

The difference in the country today as compared to what it was on 15 March 1985 was recalled by him in a kind of indirect response to criticisms from certain representatives of the Church, such as Dom Ivo, who, in his interview on Tuesday, admitted that he was "shocked by the posture of administration members who today used the same cliches as in the past and who make the situation what it was during the worst time of the dictatorship."

Sarney recalled that his administration made and is making profound reforms but, even more important than that, it contributed to a change in mentality among us. Participation, dialogue, and respect for all represent the trademark of his administration. Right now, in Planalto Palace, finishing touches are being put on the administrative reform which is capable of modernizing, streamlining, and correcting the government machinery. Merit systems will be absolute in public service, just as the reduction in the government deficit will come as one of its immediate results. This initiative will help politicians by doing away with the rule of the "big shot" and political appointments. The administrative reform will call for some bills, decrees, resolutions, and directives. It will not be very easy to obtain passage of the bills this year because of the election campaigns and the need for deputees and senators to stay in their home states, but he has confidence in the patriotism of Congress. The urban reform will also be brought along.

The administration continues to try to alter the country in structural terms and tomorrow Sarney will depart for the Carajas Mountains, accompanied by the ministers of the economic area and special advisors. He will use this opportunity for a kind of activity review regarding economic-financial measures that are responsible for a wide reduction in inflation and he will also discuss other issues.

The president praised the work of the Provisional Constitutional Study Commission, emphasizing that he was informed to the effect that the draft outline now being prepared already has 400 articles--a number which will certainly be reduced. He will get the suggestions coordinated by Afonso Arinos, probably after a longer period of time than specified in the decree establishing the group, and he is satisfied with the knowledge that important institutional and legal changes are being prepared. He will forward the studies to the National Constituent Assembly, when it meets, starting on 1 February of next year. He will also be able to forward other suggestions.

He recognizes the difficulties faced by the political parties and therefore does not consider it opportune to adopt an orthodox parliamentary system of government. This would require settled and strong parties. He therefore does not feel that anything will come of the emphatically promoted reform of the party setup, at this time, or the creation of new parties. This is a problem for the politicians. He only said that there would not be any "Party of Jose Sarney." His goal is to leave public life at the end of his term of office and he does not intend to remain as leader, constable, or substitute. He wants to devote himself exclusively to literature. He does not think much about the duration of his term of office and he prefers it to be short. This question will be decided by the National Constituent Assembly. Many changes will have to take place in that Assembly, furthermore, including changes in the parties, since the ideological tendencies will serve to differentiate groups and segments from each other.

Talking freely, he commented that, if simple living is already difficult, running the country is much more difficult and, in France, he looked for inspiration for a final comment: "De Gaulle complained of the difficulties of running a country with 600 different types of cheese. Well, things are even worse here. It is even more difficult to run a country with more than 1,000 samba schools, with 130 million soccer technicians, and with constitution drafts which already contain 400 articles."

5058
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BRAZIL

CIVILIAN-MILITARY PERCEPTIONS, ROLES DISCUSSED IN SAO PAULO

Sao Paulo O ESTADO DE SAO PAULO in Portuguese 28 May 86 p 2

[Text] How do civilians and military personnel view each other and perceive each other a year after the return of civilian government to Brazil? As civilian and military personnel, would they like to see the role of the military spelled out in the new Constitution? To answer these and other questions, 12 general officers and field-grade officers of the FAB [Brazilian Air Force], both active and reserve, plus eight civilian specialists in military affairs and constitutional law met in Sao Paulo. The participants in the meeting--"The National Moment and the Air Force"--sponsored by the Strategic Studies Center, with the support of the Ministry of Aviation, agreed in advance that all of them would speak in their own personal capacity, thus not expressing, through their opinions, the positions of the agencies with which they are affiliated. In an informal setting, civilians and military were able frankly to discuss the topic "The Military and the Constitution" without any worry as to whether, at the end of the meeting, there would be any conclusions based on consensus or on a majority vote. Even so, some common positions and observations were derived from this gathering.

For example, there is still an atmosphere of mutual lack of trust betwwen civilian and military individuals. But this atmosphere quickly vanished as the conversation developed and the participants discovered that points of agreement were more numerous than areas of disagreement. In this way, there was a unanimous impression to the effect that misunderstandings between civilian and military personnel are due more to the lack of dialogue and noncomprehension due to ignorance of respective motivations rather than to consciously assumed attitudes.

At the end of the debate on the topic of the subordination of the Armed Forces to the civilian authorities and their removal from politics, the military personnel who participated in the meeting were able calmly to state that they did not want their services to hold any privileged position within the context of all of the republican institutions. They clearly stated their preference for constitutional provisions that spelled out the functions of the Armed Forces in the constitutions prior to the constitution of 1967.

Likewise, the debaters rejected the idea of control over military police by the Armed Forces and, regarding the question of national security, the idea prevailed to the effect that it would be much better to adopt the traditional term of "national defense" so as to remove from the debate the emotional burden surrounding the term "national security."

The meeting was attended by brigadiers Clovis Pavan, Cherubin Rosa Filho, Murilo Santos, Eduardo Magalhaes Motta, Lauro Ney Menezes, Socrates da Costa Monteiro, Marcio Moreira, Luiz Thomaz Carrilho, Wilson Freitas do Valle, and Flavio da Rocha Fraga; and colonels Ozires Silva and Nelson O de Almeida; the civilians were Antonio Carlos Pereira, Oliveiros S. Ferreira, Antonio Paim, Sergio Balbuena, Paulo Bonavides, Edmundo Campos Coelho, Walder de Goes, and Joao Quartim de Moraes.

5058
CSO: 3342/127

NUMEROUS ELEVENTH-HOUR CHANGES IN PARTY AFFILIATION NOTED

Sao Paulo O ESTADO DE SAO PAULO in Portuguese 14 May 86 p 6

[Text] The PFL gained 14 more parliamentarians--12 deputies and two senators--yesterday in the final round of party exchanges, the deadline being midnight tonight. This increases its bench in the Chamber to 130 members and that in the Senate to 21. Even singer Elza Soares made contact with party officials yesterday to find out how to affiliate with the PFL and run for a seat in the Constituent Assembly representing Rio de Janeiro.

While the leader of the PDS, Deputy Amaral Neto, harshly criticized the defectors from his party, five more PDS members obtained PFL party cards. They were Senators Lomanto Junior (Bahia) and Moacyr Dalla (Espirito Santo) and Deputies Leur Lomanto (Bahia), Jose Carlos Fonseca (Espirito Santo) and Pedro Ceollin (Espirito Santo). Jose Carlos Fonseca did not inform the PDS leader that he was leaving the party until after he had joined the PFL. "It was a question of political survival," he explained, "and I would have been left alone in my state and unable to win reelection."

On the other hand, leader Amaral Neto enthusiastically welcomed the adhesion of Deputies Moacir Franco (Sao Paulo) and Nelson do Carmo (Sao Paulo), who left the PDP for the PDS. PDS losses to the PFL in the past 15 days included Senator Alexandre Costa and Deputies Edison Lobao and Nagib Haickel, of the Maranhao bench, and Deputies Nelson Morro and Wilson Kleinunbing (Santa Catarina), Osmar Leitao and Alair Ferreira (Rio de Janeiro) and Jonas Pinheiro Mato Grosso).

Fauze Carlos

Deputy Fauze Carlos, of Sao Paulo, elected by the PDS, who has headed the party representation in the Assembly during a number of legislative sessions, left the party yesterday to transfer to the PTB.

This parliamentarian, who as he emphasized is identified with the Brazilian Labor Movement, acted in response to an invitation from Prefect Janio Quadros and the regional executive commission of the PTB in Sao Paulo, issued on the basis of a unanimous vote by its members.

With the departure of Fauze, the PDS bench at the 9 July Palace is reduced to 10 deputies. At the beginning of the legislative session in 1983, the PDS had 22 deputies.

Lacerda Supporters

Just prior to the deadline for party transfers yesterday, almost all of the members of the group which supported Lacerda still remaining in the PFL (Mauro Magalhaes, Terezinha Saraiva and Veiga Brito, among the main ones), as well as the PTB state deputy, Francisco Horta, joined the Liberal Party.

Apart from this group--more than 20 yesterday--another 18 individuals who have not yet chosen their new party affiliation have officially broken with the PFL, and further resignations are expected today.

On the other hand, the PFL gained four new members yesterday. They were former minister Armando Falcao, the former prefect of Nova Iguacu, Ruy Queiroz, and two brothers, Heitor Furtado, a state deputy, and Fleming Furtado, an alderman. With the resignation of Heitor Furtado, the PDS was left without representatives in the Rio de Janeiro Legislative Assembly.

New PDT Members

With considerable fanfare but with no major leader present, the PDT in Parana announced five new party members yesterday afternoon. This party will compete in the state gubernatorial elections in November with the former prefect of Curitiba, Jaime Lerner, as the running mate, and a federal deputy, Alencar Furtado of the PMB (Brazilian Municipalist Party), as the sole opponent of PMDB Senator Alvaro Dias for the governor's post.

The new PDT members in Parana are former deputy and former secretary of culture Luiz Roberto Soares; Affonso Antoniuk, who was a PTB senatorial candidate in 1982; Paranagua Alderman Massami Takayama (formerly a member of the PMDB); Colombo Alderman Anacleto Poletti; and the former prefect of Cianorte, Nelson Predin. The last two are also former PMDB members. Luiz Roberto Soares did not even appear at the ceremony at which the new membership cards were signed.

5157
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TERRITORIAL CONFLICTS AMONG CABINET MINISTERS ANALYZED

Brasilia CORREIO BRAZILIENSE in Portuguese 11 May 86 p 3

[Article by A.C. Scartezini, political coordinator]

[Text] The battle among President Sarney's ministers for political space will be stepped up in the next 2 months, to the extent that the definition of the administrative reorganization project designed to eliminate, rework and establish various bodies in the federal bureaucracy, the state enterprises above all, reaches the stage of final details.

It is in this area of organizational redistribution that the ministers will wage their battle to win political space, because the instructions given by Sarney to Minister of Administration Aluizio Alves indicate that the reform is to be profound, with the elimination of parallel administrations and the existence of any more than one bureaucratic body dealing with a given matter.

With this order, the territorial redistribution of the present ministries becomes inevitable, and the ministers may apply to this issue the experience gained in the internal conflicts which have predominated among them since President Sarney took office, and with the greatest vigor following the coincidence of the battle against inflation and the first administrative changes.

And not even the generals are excluded from this widespread conflict. One of the most intensive and silent battles for power occurred within the Planalto Palace, and what is more serious, it was a conflict between civilians and military officers. The civilians were led by Minister Marco Maciel, while the military protagonists were commanded by General Rubem Bayma Denys. This was a dispute about the new regulation governing the authority of the Military and Civilian Households of the Presidency. Maciel's effort to win administration of the Planalto Palace for the Civilian Household, always heretofore the prerogative of the Military Household, and Bayma's reluctance to surrender a part of his territory, hindered the approval of the regulations, which has only just now been achieved.

When the presidential plane took off for Lisbon on the 3rd of this month, Maciel's advisors distributed copies of the regulations Sarney had just signed to reporters still on the ground at the Brasilia Air Base. Thanks to Sarney's choice, Maciel won the battle.

Maciel and Aureliano

The deference of the president to the chief of his Civilian Household placed Marco Maciel, however, in the center of an internal conflict. Unselfishly, Maciel left the PDS to Aureliano Chaves in order to support the Tancredo Neves-Jose Sarney presidential slate, to found the PFL and to enter the government of the New Republic as a minister.

Despite all these links, Aureliano has been in sharp conflict with Maciel. By way of illustration, on the very Saturday of Maciel's triumph at the Air Base, Aureliano spent 9 hours in his company, but said nothing to him except "good morning" at the beginning of the day and "good evening" at its end.

The dry exchange of greetings began and ended at the Air Base--first, when they arrived to see Sarney off to Lisbon, and later, when they returned from Uberaba, where they accompanied the interim president, Ulysses Guimaraes, on a visit to the annual cattle fair. Between the "good morning" and the "good evening," they spent 9 hours together.

Presidential protocol, which ignores personalities, made a further futile attempt to bring the two closer together that Saturday. While in the aircraft, protocol placed Aureliano in the easy chair beside Maciel, but the minister of mines and energy had nothing to say to the colleague who heads the Civilian Household. On the ground, protocol put them in the back seat of the same Ford Galaxy, but Aureliano made a point of putting an unexpected passenger in the vehicle--the president of the Brazilian Zebu Cattlemen's Association, Nilson Camargo Araujo--in the seat between them. The guileless Nilson talked with each of the ministers, but they exchanged not one remark.

The clashes between the two began in the PFL, which they founded and headed, itself. At the beginning, Aureliano's leadership in the PFL was the stronger, but later Maciel gained strength and surpassed his comrade. Aureliano has resented the decline in his prestige within the party, above all because it would seem that Maciel today is in a better position to become the PFL candidate to succeed Sarney. Maciel's privileged position became even more so when he left the Ministry of Education for the Civilian Household, where he acquired the power to amend any document requiring the presidential signature, and thus to interfere in the work of the other ministries. And more recently, Maciel has taken up the campaign being sponsored on television to get the people to save energy, which Aureliano wanted to manage from the Ministry of Mines and Energy.

Maciel and Funaro

The strong presence of Maciel close to Sarney, together with the presidential succession itself, led the advisors of Minister of Finance Dilson Funaro to feed the fires of the charge made by the periodical VEJA to the effect that top-ranking politicians in the government have boycotted the battle against inflation. By coincidence, this periodical made Maciel its target at the very moment when the new regulations governing the presidential households came out.

Despite the strength gained from his closeness to Sarney, Maciel did not respond to this volley. He preferred to keep silent and he asked his friends not to comment on the superpower he had acquired. He confessed to being discouraged, and after a telephone call from Funaro assuring him that he had nothing to do with the charges, he continued to be calm and quiet. He was sparing himself trouble.

Funaro and Aureliano

Another victim of Funaro's machinegun was Aureliano Chaves, who is resisting the concept of creating a holding company in the course of administrative reform to manage the funds of all the state bodies. The minister of mines and energy does not like the idea that money might be taken from his state organizations, such as PETROBRAS and its subsidiaries, and given to other more modest--and indebted--organs, and this does not please the minister of finance.

The clash with Funaro, incidentally, places Aureliano Chaves in a delicate position, in the crossfire. He has Dilson Funaro against him. He does not want to talk with Marco Maciel. And his two contenders are on much more intimate terms with Sarney than he is. In addition to this, one of them has the power to amend presidential documents, while the other has the keys to the treasury.

Funaro and Iris

Another unsuspecting victim of Funaro's offensive bursts was Minister of Agriculture Iris Rezende, who was drawn by the Ministry of Finance advisors into a traditional exchange of shots which he would like to smooth over--the traditional clash between the Ministries of Finance and Agriculture about the financial policy for agriculture.

This was a battle which heated up in the first year of the government, when Senator Pedro Simon was in the Ministry of Agriculture. However, Iris Rezende went into this fray waving a white flag, but Funaro failed to recognize it and went on firing--perhaps due to a mechanical reflex. It is true that Funaro telephoned Iris Rezende as well to tell him that his weapon had never fired a single shot against his colleague.

The most recent volley, however, came last week, as a result of the lack of funds at the Ministry of Finance for the harvest for which the government must pay this year. Something in the neighborhood of 8 billion cruzeiros. With the money unavailable, Funaro tried to reduce the debt, but only where his colleague was concerned, asking a sacrifice of the rural producers with a reduction of the minimum prices by 12.84 percent. In the bargain struck, Funaro did not manage to reduce the sum owed, but did succeed in getting the payment distributed in monthly allocations.

Reinaldo and Fialho

The closest friends of Sarney in the administration are Funaro and Maciel, but in his personal life, Ministers of Transportation and Irrigation Jose Reinaldo Tavares and Vicente Fialho, respectively, are more important. And both were also involved in the exchange of shots with Funaro in "defense" of the anti-inflationary package.

Neither one, however, is concerned. Jose Reinaldo and Fialho believe that the confidence their friend Sarney has in them is a stronger factor. Moreover, both like to render accounts to Sarney personally, and they talk with him directly and without intermediaries, preferably during the evenings, at the Alvorado Palace, or on weekends, at the Sao Jose do Pericuma location.

Antonio Carlos

Another thing which has provoked irascible reactions among his colleagues is the insistence of Minister of Communications Antonio Carlos Magalhaes on attempting to become more intimate with Sarney, as happened during the last domestic trip made by the president, when he visited the livestock fair in Barretos, in the interior of Sao Paulo, prior to his flight to Lisbon.

When he reached Barretos at the end of April, Sarney was faced with a whole series of banners everywhere he went in the city, all lauding Antonio Carlos, who did not even accompany him on the trip. The banners carried such warm and intimate messages as "We hail our minister, Toninho Ternura."

Surprised, the president asked about the banners. He found out two things. First, the prefecture had had them put up, and second, by coincidence, Prefect Wek Rezek (PMDB) had just been awarded the concession to operate a radio station by the minister of communications.

Funaro Blameless

The conflicts among the ministers are being viewed as natural at the Planalto Palace, where it is believed that it is all a part of the game, and that President Sarney will act in his special capacity as the arbiter of differences to keep the hostilities at a tolerable level. Essentially a political man, Sarney will have no difficulty in reconciling hostile attitudes.

Among the other government officials, the conflicts are interpreted as a battle for political space, the final objective being the campaign to elect Sarney's successor. Thus, Maciel and Aureliano are battling to win a strong position before that time comes. Antonio Carlos is plotting with his colleagues to the extent that he wants to make himself appear, to the military above all, as a civilian leader capable of dealing with the left wing in the battle to elect the successor.

The picture of the seat Sarney will leave empty must be in Funaro's mind as well. Deeply involved in the drafting of the anti-inflationary package, the minister of finance is working valiantly for its success, which could maintain his status as a national hero until the time of the presidential election. The vigor of his effort has even led him into clashes over his colleagues' territory.

However, with the experience of one who has observed this government from within for a year as minister of health, Deputy Carlos Sant'Anna (PMDB, Bahia) absolves Funaro of any sins in these battles, and explains as follows: "Funaro no longer has any commitment to life--only to justice. He is aware that this is the revolutionary moment of consolidation of the plan against inflation."

5157
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SHIFTS IN POLITICAL ALLIANCES, CONFLICTS SINCE 1982 VIEWED

Sao Paulo O ESTADO DE SAO PAULO in Portuguese 4 May 86 p 3

[Text] Brasilia--If a voter in any state, for example a resident of Sao Paulo, has already been thinking of traveling to his place of birth to exercise his right to vote on 15 November, a word of friendly advice--look closely at the relationship of the candidates, mainly those running for governor, vice governor and Senate seats. There will be some big surprises.

Those who voted in 1982 and in the 15 November 1985 municipal elections will face many difficulties. Today's adversaries are yesterday's allies. Parties which clashed in the past are united today, and those which were united in the past are now opponents.

If the reader comes from Sergipe, for example, he should prepare himself. The PMDB, which fought the Franco family (PDS) so hard for so long, is today supported by this powerful group. The dissident faction in Aracaju Prefect Jackson Barreto's PMDB has allied itself with the PFL of Governor Joao Alves (formerly of the PDS).

An alliance may come about in Rio Grande do Sul between the PDS of Nelson Marchezan and the PMDB of Senator Pedro Simon, with the blessing of the Planalto Palace and Minister of Justice Paulo Brossard. The voter who travels to Piaui will have to be very careful. The old positions will tell him nothing. The PDS of former governor Lucidio Portella (brother of Petronio) and Senator Helvidio Nunes has joined with the PMDB of former governors Alberto Silva and Chagas Rodrigues of the PMDB. Alberto Silva will be the gubernatorial candidate, with the PDS nominating the vice-gubernatorial and one Senate candidate. Presumably the PMDB will nominate the other candidate for a Senate seat.

If the voter in Ceara has within the recent past supported the "colonels" who "split off" from the powerful ARENA when the Bezerra family's PFL emerged, he may be in for a shock. The governor elected thanks to the "colonels' agreement," Gonzaga Motta, belongs to the PMDB today. "Colonel" Adauto Bezerra belongs to the PFL, and "Colonels" Virgilio Tavora and Cesar Cals remain in the PDS. Virgilio, Cals and Bezerra will join together once again against the PMDB of Gonzaga Motta, Mauro Benevides and Paes Andrade. In 1982, Gonzaga defeated Benevides, but he is now supporting him in the Senate and Paes de Andrade for vice governor, on the Tasso Jereissatti slate.

The struggle waged by Alencar Furtado in Parana against the political-administrative dominance of Ney Braga (formerly of the ARENA and PDS), now in the PFL, was famous. The voter in Parana should leave Sao Paulo prepared for the new picture. Ney Braga will support the candidacy of Alencar Furtado for the gubernatorial post on the Municipalist Party slate, and he will also have the support of Paulo Pimentel's PDS. Geisel's former minister, Karlos Rischbieter, is likely to participate in that same "front" as well, and it will also include Jaime Lerner, who is a member today of Brizola's PDT, and former governor Haroldo Leon Peres, of the PFL. They all oppose Jose Richa of the PMDB.

In Rio Grande do Norte as well, changes have occurred. Those who supported Dinarte Mariz against Aloisio Alves will be surprised. Dinarte's son and heir, Deputy Vanderley Mariz, has left the PDS for the PMDB, and with the support of the Alves family, will run for the Senate. The opponent of this alliance will be the PFL of Governor Jose Agripino Maia, a member of another traditional Rio Grande do Norte political family.

The surprise will come from both sides in Bahia. On the one side are Luiz Viana Filho, Luiz Viana Neto, Luiz Prisco Viana, Juthay Magalhaes, and Juthay Magalhaes Junior, all now members of the PMDB, supporting the candidacy of Waldir Pires, with Chico Pinto on the left and Roberto Santos on the right of the candidate. On the other side is former senator Josafah Marinho (formerly of the MDB and the PSB), who is supported by Minister Antonio Carlos Magalhaes and Governor Joao Durval, who have left the PDS for the PFL. Lomanto Junior, a member of the same group, will run for the Senate. The opponent in the other group will be Juthay Magalhaes. The Bahia of all the saints and all the churches will have candidates for all tastes.

In 1982, businessman Camilo Colla ran for the Senate for the PDS in Espirito Santo and lost. In 1986, this same businessman may again be a candidate for the Senate, but now with the support of the PMDB. The remnants of the PDS in Espirito Santo will support the gubernatorial candidacy of Elcio Alvares, sponsored by the PFL.

The former Maluf supporters in Mato Grosso who left the PDS for the PFL are establishing the PL to support the PMDB gubernatorial candidate, Carlos Bezerra. Those who remained in the PFL, under the leadership of the controversial governor, Julio Campos, are likely to support the local PDT, headed by two former PMDB members, Gilson de Barros and Father Pombo.

Those who travel to Mato Grosso do Sul to vote will have to take great care. The notorious Pedro Pedrossian, former governor and former senator, has joined with powerful businessman Ludio Coelho (formerly of the UDN and the ARENA), who can also rely on the support of former minister Wilson Fadul of Brizola's PDT. The struggle will be waged by this structure against the PMDB of Governor Wilson Martins, a candidate for a Senate seat, and Marcelo Miranda (formerly of the ARENA and the PP), the gubernatorial candidate. An alliance not previously expected is also developing in Santa Catarina. Minister Jorge

Bornhausen's PFL may support the same candidate of Governor Esperidiao Amin (who is leaving the PDS for the PDT) and Senator Jaison Barreto (who has already left the PMDB for the PDT).

Nor is the picture simple in Minas Gerais, Sao Paulo, Goias and other states. The politicians are complicating the life of every voter almost everywhere. Maranhao will be no exception. Senator Joao Castelo, elected in 1982 with the support of Sarney's ARENA, is the leader of the local PDS today, amd opposes the president. He is losing party colleagues to the PFL, which will support Epitacio Cafeteira (PMDB), formerly Sarney's adversary.

5157
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ONLY 7 OF ORIGINAL 23 BIONIC SENATORS MAY RETURN TO SENATE

Sao Paulo O ESTADO DE SAO PAULO in Portuguese 27 May 86 p 5

[Text] Out of the 23 bionic senators appointed in 1978, only 7 will be able to win a direct term of office on 15 November. Out of the 23 directly elected senators, whose 8-year term also runs out in January 1987, at most 6 will have a chance of re-election. Several will be candidates for governor and federal deputy.

Bionic Senator Juracy Magalhaes (BA [Bahia]), nominated by ARENA [National Renewal Alliance], switched to the PDS [Social Democratic Party], joined the PFL [Liberal Front Party], and recently opted for the PMDB [Brazilian Democratic Movement Party]. He is included in the group that supports the candidacy of Waldir Pires for state governor, running for a vacancy with possibilities.

Another bionic senator who will have to swap the indirect mandate for the direct mandate will be Afonso Camargo (PMDB-PR [Parana[), the former transportation minister. He and former Governor Jose Richa will be competing for the two vacancies in Parana. In Minas, Murilo Badaro seems to have given up trying for governor and is seeking a direct term in the Senate. He is part of an interparty front in Minas which supports the candidacy of Itamar Franco, running into restrictions from the PCB [Brazilian Communist Party] and the PSB [Brazilian Socialist Party].

Bionic Senator Joao Calmon (ES [Espirito Santo]), formerly with ARENA, who sometime ago switched to the PMDB, may well be re-elected. That will depend on the success of the slate established under the leadership of former Governor Gerson Camata.

In Mato Grosso and in Southern Mato Grosso, the bionic senators will be able to win direct mandates. The two--Gastao Muller (MT [Northern Mato Grosso]) and Saldanha Derzi (MS [Southern Mato Grosso])--belonged to ARENA, to the PP [Popular Party], and switched to the PMDB. They will be deputy leaders of the PMDB in the Senate.

Two other former ARENA members are in a good position to exchange their indirect mandate for the direct mandate; they are Alexandre Costa (MA [Maranhao]), who recently joined the PFL, and Cesar Cais (CE [Ceara]), who remained in the PDS. Also running in Piaui is bionic Senator Helvidio Nunes who recently joined the PMDB of Alberto Silva and Chagas Rodrigues.

Bionic Senator Milton Cabral (PFL-PB [Paraiba]), will leave the Senate during the next several days; he will be elected stopgap governor by indirect vote of the Legislative Assembly. In Paraiba, the governor and the lieutenant governor resigned to run in the elections and the president of the Legislative Assembly did not take office because he is also a candidate. Cabral will be replaced in the Senate by his alternate Mauricio Leite (PFL-PB) who will be a candidate for federal deputy.

Among the senators elected by direct vote in 1978, who will try to win again on 31 January of next year, the following have a chance of getting re-elected: Fernando Henrique Cardoso (SP [Sao Paulo]) who took over in place of Franco Montoro; Lomanto Junior (BA) who several days ago switched from the PDS to the PFL; Luiz Cavalcante (PFL-AL [Alagoas]), Cid Sampaio (PL-PE [Liberal Party, Pernambuco]), Martins Filho (PMDB-RN [Rio Grande do Norte]), who took over after the death of Jesse Freire; and Aloisio Chaves (PFL-PA [Para]), the former leader of the PDS.

The following are candidates for governor: senators Pedro Simon (PMDB-RS [Rio Grande do Sul]), Henrique Santillo (PMDB-GO [Goias]), Nelson Carneiro (PMDB-RJ [Rio de Janeiro]), Humberto Lucena (PMDB-PB), and Alberto Silva (PMDB-PI [Piaui]), and Lieutenant Governor Passos Porto (SE [Sergipe]) who recently switched from the PDS to the PMDB.

Senators Jaison Barreto (PDT-SC [Democratic Worker's Party--Santa Catarina]), Eneas Farias (PMDB-PR), Alvaro Lins (PFL-CE), Americo de Souza (PFL-MA), and Eunice Michillis (PFL-AM [Amazonas]) will run for federal deputy. The others will end their careers.

5058
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MACIEL PREPARES MEMO ON VIABILITY OF POLITICAL MODEL

Sao Paulo O ESTADO DE SAO PAULO in Portuguese 27 May 86 p 3

[Text] Minister Marco Maciel, the chief of the Civilian Office, did not come out with any long-term predictions as to the political party situation. He admits that the November elections are being used to blur the characteristics of the parties and he believes that more changes will materialize during the work of the National Constituent Assembly, specifically, for ideological reasons and not because of the elections. He does not rule out the assumption that there might be other reshufflings and changes. One of them would be a combination of the delegations that support President Jose Sarney around a single party which could be the PFL [Liberal Front Party], the PMDB [Brazilian Democratic Movement Party], or a new party formed under the guidance of the Democratic Alliance. There is only one thing that is sure according to him, when he was questioned on that score: Everything will happen in a natural way, from the bottom to the top. Gone are the days of dissolution of political parties by force, as happened during the revolutionary period.

Although he is struggling with a thousand and one problems of an administrative nature, Maciel found time last week for some heavy considerations of a political nature. He prepared a sketch on the political-institutional process which he will submit to President Jose Sarney for his consideration; it has the following content:

"Since we are facing a new institutional organization for the political establishment, we have to think very hard about the viability of our political model. As I see it, it is based on some premises:

"a) A democratic system with an economically and socially differentiated society, such as ours, is incompatible with the two-party system;

"b) In a multiparty system, which is the only system that is viable within Brasilian democracy, it is practically impossible to have a predominant political party;

"c) Without a predominant political party, the basis for the political-parliamentary stability of the government can be achieved only through party coalitions;

"d) Political coalitions in multiparty systems can be worked only on the basis of a doctrinal or ideological identity, through common government programs;

"e) Doctrinal or ideological identity between parties presupposes a multiparty system which expresses, in doctrinaire or ideological terms, the various conflicting interests in pluralist societies.

"Within these assumptions, we must have an explicit model for the Executive Branch which traditionally has existed during the phases of political organization in which the system of shared power prevailed. These features spring not only from the division of power and the sphere of authority specifically designated by law in the country's institutional organization. As important as this factor, which is of a formal nature, there are those that are derived from political practice which imposes some rules upon the exercise of Executive Power in a federal organization which is necessarily decentralized. These characteristics, in summary, are as follows:

"1) The sharing [of power] among the three branches of government cannot provide only for equivalence but must also contemplate equal power among them. In other words, we cannot have a dominant power, according to the essential assumption of Lord Acton, according to whom 'Only power controls power';

"2) The division of influence, prerogatives, and authority cannot be verified only at the level of specialization, between the three branches of government, but must also work at the spatial level, shared equitably between the Union, the states, and the townships;

"3) The political role of the Executive Branch, in the context of the party system, cannot be implemented unless this be done as a function of the indispensable and essential arbitration between the interests of the clashing parties;

"4) The inevitability of party conflicts and their regional, doctrinaire, and ideological interests imposes upon the Executive Branch a posture of standing aside from these conflicts, without which arbitration becomes impossible;

"5) This position of standing aside, which is indispensable for the president's exercise of his role as arbiter, imposes equidistance in election disputes, which are always conditioned by the inevitability of the conflicts of the doctrinaire and regional interests of the parties.

"It is clear that, without a strong, steady, and institutionalized party system, none of these characteristics can be achieved. And this, I assume, has to be a fundamental issue for our coming political and institutional organization. On that basis we will be able to spell out and set up, for operational purposes, the political model to which the Executive Branch and, within it, the Office of the President, will have to subject themselves, so that the system which we are establishing will at the same time be stable, as we desire, and adequate for our real situation, a requirement without which we will not resolve the crisis that threatens the organization of political power in our contemporary world, regardless of what kind of political system we have, regardless of what kind of government system we have."

This text opens obvious prospects for the consolidation of the political model of the New Republic. Regardless of what the National Constituent Assembly comes up with, in developing many more concepts of behavior than legal structures, this represents a preliminary draft which is already undergoing experimental application, a kind of design of political life for new times.

5058
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HUNGARY SEEKS TO EXPAND TRADE

Budapest HETI VILAGGAZDASAG in Hungarian 3 May 86 p 13

[Article: "What Can We Sell to Brazil?"]

[Text] Rumor has it in Brazil that the democratic Hungarian government which came to power after the Second World War "forgot" to make peace with Brazil. So for many years after this, at least formally, the South American country regarded itself as in a state of war with Hungary. Even diplomatic ties were reestablished only in 1961. Even this could not hinder the development of commerce. Throughout Brazil they became acquainted with Hungarian diesel locomotives, swimming pool equipment, and educational and medical equipment.

And how do our ties stand now, in the spring of 1986? We talked about this in the Rio office of the Hungarian commercial legation, in the office building built on the banks of Botafogo Bay, with Pal K. Varga, the head of the legation. Last year the bilateral traffic decreased in dollar value as compared to that of the previous year. Purchases originating in Brazil--the vast majority were agricultural products: soy meal, raw coffee beans, cocoa beans--shrank to one-half as compared to that of the previous year, while Hungarian export jumped by 60 percent. However, all of this only meant that purchases in the amount of 126 million dollars were made in comparison to 16 million dollars worth of direct export and 14 million dollars of re-export (i.e. products not of Hungarian origin sold to Brazil). From the beginning the traffic was unbalanced; the Hungarian partner always bought more than what it could sell in Brazil. It is conspicuous that the lion's share of Hungarian product sales, 90 percent, fell into four groups of products: Medicor sells medical instruments, Medimpex pharmaceutical basic materials and intermediates, Terimpex beef intended for canneries, and Metrimpex educational equipment. Further characteristic of Hungarian export directed toward Brazil--and this generally characterizes Hungarian export which yields convertible accounts--is that it is too much characterized by raw materials and products requiring a low level of processing. Last year the proportion of machine industry products also decreased as compared to that of the previous year.

Last year Brazil purchased 13 billion dollars worth of foreign goods, barely 1/1000th of this came from Hungary. What obviously also plays a role in the relatively small value of Hungarian export is of course the fact that Brazilian import, which is regulated by a system that is complex and difficult to survey and that primarily sets up obstacles to the sale of finished manufactured goods, frequently exasperates the life of Hungarian businessmen. But this is only one of the many reasons. In this continent-sized country ties maintained with local organizations and local companies have special significance; however, for the moment few Hungarian companies have independent representation--the largest part of the country is a blank area on the map for Hungarian foreign trade. And when there would finally be a market, there are no more goods: last year, for example, there would have been abundant orders for Hungarian ballbearings, chemical products, electric bulbs, and apples, but Hungarian foreign trade representatives could not ship them in sufficient quantities.

There are, however, encouraging signs. Medicor's multinational branch, Medicor do Brasil, with Attila Csernok, the Hungarian managing director, at its helm, can boost its annual export of several million dollars during the following years: it signed very valuable general contracts in Parai with authorities of the Minas Gerais federated states, and it is negotiating with the educational ministry about university orders; x-ray equipment, electrocardiographs, and blood pressure gauges are among the medical instruments sold or offered. One of the basic principles involved in the work of the multinational to create markets is that it is necessary to get out of the large cities and to negotiate directly with the potential buyers.

Business for Agrober is also developing favorably: Since last year, within the scope of a 15 million dollar agreement, the company is introducing irrigation into agriculture and is setting up fish and duck breeding along the banks of the Sao Francisco River in the state of Minas Gerais on behalf of Codevasf, a state development firm. The work begun several years ago is proceeding well, and negotiations are underway with the federated state of Sergipe for several million dollars worth of orders. Also based on intellectual export is Hydroexport, the business of the firm falling under the supervision of the National Water Bureau: in the state of Parai it is providing practical application of water management methods, in the form of irrigation and water purification, for a sum of 15 million dollars.

The policy of the Sarney government offers numerous new opportunities for engagement of Hungarian companies: it wants to promote irrigation in agriculture and promised additional billions of dollars for instruction in its widespread implementation (Metrimpex is already present in the market with its instructional equipment). But obviously there would be a need to arouse the interest of other Hungarian firms in the 235 million dollar market. Based on this idea, among others, the newly reorganized South American section of the Hungarian Chamber of Commerce is sending delegations to explore the market in Brazil and in three other Latin American countries. For the time being, 50 companies are members of the section.

PHOTO CAPTION

1. Rio Headquarters of Medicor do Brasil. To get out of the offices. . .

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BRIEFS

CROP REDUCTION FORECAST REDUCED--According to data disclosed yesterday by the IBGE (Brazilian Institute of Geography and Statistics), Brazil will this year have to produce 38,110,281 tons of cereal crops (herbaceous cotton, peanuts, rice, beans, castor-oil plants, soybeans, sorghum, and wheat) against 37,330,636 tons last year. This estimate is based on surveys conducted during April although the results of the second peanut harvest in Bahia had not yet been compiled, along with those for the second bean harvest in the North-Northeast, in Rio, and in the Federal District, as well as the soybean output of Parana. The estimates disclosed yesterday practically confirm the agricultural harvest expectations that reached the IBGE last month, especially regarding changes in the output of herbaceous cotton (up 11 percent), corn (up 5 percent), soybean (up 1.5 percent), and onions (down 5 percent). An output of 2,091,481 tons this year was expected for herbaceous cotton; this is due primarily to the improvement in weather conditions, mostly in Parana, which materialized this month. However, in spite of the improved expectations for April as compared to March, the IBGE continues to believe that there will be a decline in the annual output of this product which has now been calculated at 21.1 percent. The April figures also point to a decline in this year's soybean harvest which should turn out to be around 13.5 million tons or 27 percent less than the output figure last year. [Text] [Sao Paulo O ESTADO DE SAO PAULO in Portuguese 16 May 86 p 29] 5058

CSO: 3342/127

INDEPENDENCE IN SATELLITE, ROCKET TECHNOLOGY SEEN BY 1990

Rio de Janeiro MANCHETE in Portuguese 31 May 86 pp 46-53

[Article by Durval Ferreira: "This Will be the First Brazilian Satellite in Space"]

[Text] MANCHETE gives you a first-hand look at our most important step forward on the march toward the cosmos.

Before the end of the decade, Brazil will put 100-percent Brazilian satellites into orbit, carried by rockets that will also be 100-percent domestic. Some 3 years prior to this extraordinary achievement, MANCHETE, using artists' conceptions from the Institute of Space Activities, IAE, shows you what the first satellite launch and deployment--to take place at the future base at Alcantara, in the State of Maranhao--will be like. We also trace the route taken by Brazilian technicians and scientists to overcome the lack of technological information (the nations that have this expertise do not give it up) and to proceed to develop satelites and rockets until they reached the threshold of the cosmos.

The dream began to become reality with the first launch--a successful one--of the meterological rocket Sonda I from the base at Barriera do Inferno, in the state of Rio Grande do Norte, in 1966. That was enough. Based on that first shot, the research and development of vehicles, components, and instruments, and especially the training of human resources in space activities surged forward. All this went on despite the ups and downs of the crises that swept the country. After Sonda I, the patriarch of the Sonda "family", came three more generations of rockets, each one more powerful than the one before it. The last of those, Sonda IV, is giving rise to a fifth generation, the gigantic Sonda V or SLV (Satellite Launch Vehicle). Parts of the SLV are being manufactured, others already being tested, and some are still on the drawing board, where the process is aided by computers. Little by little it is taking shape, with plans for testing in about 1987. Once proven, the SLV will be used to launch the four satellites Brazil has planned: two to collect data and two for remote sensing tasks.

Sao Jose dos Campos, in the state of Sao Paulo, is the nerve center of Brazilian high technology. That is where major manufacturers and exporters of advanced war materiel, such as Avibras and Engesa, are located. It is also the home of Embraer, the largest aircraft manufacturer on the continent. There too, cheek by jowl, are the enormous installations of the Institute of

Space Research, InPE, the Institute of Space Activites, IAE, and the Aerospace Technical Center, CTA, which is part of the Ministry of Aviation. InPE is where the line of applications satellites and their payloads is being developed and the CTA is where the booster rockets, their navigation and control systems, instrumentation, and the launch and deployment techniques are being designed. Although assigned responsibilities in two different fields--satellites and rockets--both organizations were created to aim at a single target: the Complete Brazilian Space Mission, the conquest of space for Brazil organized in 1977 and approved by the Brazilian Commission on Space Activities, COBAE, which is a sort of holding company that directs operations in the sector, as the American NASA does.

The SLV is based on Sonda IV, which was successfully launched last November from Barreira do Inferno. It is considered to be a medium-sized vehicle capable of lifting 300 kg to an altitude of 1,000 km, or 500 kg to an altitude of 700 km. It will have four motors just like those on Sonda IV, "clustered", as technicians say, around the first stage to which they are attached. They ignite simultaneously to give the SLV sufficient thrust to take heavy payloads to high altitudes. Oribtal deployment will be completed by thrust from the third and fourth-stage rockets.

IAE occupies a big area of the CTA, one that covers several acres in a zone where both the rhythm of construction of new buildings and the pace of the activities going on inside are nonstop. These are specialized buildings, designed to accommodate the complexities of rocket research and development and the need for continual expansion of the facilities given the volume--also expanding--of the work. Situated among well kept, tree-shaded lawns and streets whose overall appearance reminds one of an exclusive residential enclave, the buildings house departments such as Rocket Projects, headed by Jayme Boscov, an engineer regarded as the Brazilian Von Braun; Composite Materials, or Engine Structures; laboratories such as Data Acquisition and Reduction (which summarizes launch data recorded on tape and evaluates the payload to be carried); Component Development (rocket control systems); Telecommunications, and Inertial Testing (which simulate conditions in outer space). The Rocket Assembly and Engine and Fuels Testing departments are located 15 km away, at the Varadouro plant.

The buildings house the best brains in the field of space vehicles, some of them with PhD's in the subject, all of them worth their weight in gold to any nation that plans to conquer the cosmos--or has already done so. And the rapidity with which they tear through one phase after the other, despite the difficulties of working in a developing country like ours that has just emerged from a burdensome inflationary history, makes them even more coveted.

Thanks to these people, Brazilian rockets have a high national content as regards materials and components, as well as in terms of technological development and design, systems and raw material. The same is true of the personnel at InPE. By passing along technological "packages", InPE and IAE have created a whole swarm of local industries to produce what they need for the satellites and rockets.

COBAE is their main source of funds but, as CTA director Gen Hugo Piva points out, the money cannot be considered as "spent" because of the rapid return on investment it yields for the Brazilian economy in terms of import substitution and the increase in the Gross National Product. Data he showed us indicate that import substitution made possible by the development of materials, machinery, equipment, technologies, etc. that are passed along to private industry has generated dollar savings hundreds of times greater than what COBAE has allocated to the Brazilian Space Mission.

Gen Piva cites just a few among hundreds of examples, such as the machine to produce durable precision seamless aluminum tubing for rockets. The machine turns out pipe for IAE and, when idle for private industry--such as the automobile sector--which was spending millions of dollars on imported tubing, more than is spent on the space program. The production of tool steel is another achievement. It is of incalculable strategic value and basic to the sector, which saves additional millions of dollars every year, while breaking yet another link in technological dependence. Today, several countries, including the United States, import tool steel from Brazil. The third example is that of a special textile machine to make fabric for the parachutes used in recovering rocket payloads. Different porosites are required, depending on the needs of each experiment to be recovered after the parachute opens on re-entering the atmosphere and falls into the sea, where flotation devices inflate upon contact with the water. As with the other machinery, this piece of equipment does not stand idle; it also makes special filters for a number of industries that used to have to import them.

At another point in the research, in order to evaluate the difficulties encountered and overcome, one must remember that the rocket that launches the satellites and places them in orbit can, obviously, launch bombs over great distances with a similar degree of precision. That is another reason why space technologies are neither tranferred nor ceded by the countries that have them, (besides, of course, their primary reason, which is to preserve their monopoly). According to Gen Piva, the infrastructure and the technologies are the same for both peaceful and weapons applications. All that is needed for the latter purpose is to develop the delicate navigation and terminal guidance systems that enable a rocket to transport bombs 2,000 km directly to the target. It is not toward that end, however, that the Brazilian effort at space conquest is directed. It is a long way from one point to the other and the question merely serves to illustrate Brazil's journey into space, its attempt to eliminate dependency by conquering space through its own efforts. The country had to start from zero on the road to the infinite, without the arsenals of knowledge already amassed by the developed nations through their activities in space.

A shining example of this can be found in the development of solid rocket fuel. Like the mixing of elastomer--a type of synthetic rubber--with agglutinating and oxidizing agents, which results in an oxygen-rich compound. That compound was researched and obtained in the CTA laboratory and the lab at Avibras, a major manufacturer and exporter of rockets for war purposes. Propellants are the main component of rockets and, due to their strong military use connotation, their technology is extremely closely held by nations which possess it.

A similar effort is being conducted right now by Marco Antonio Raupp, director of InPE. Once again starting at the very beginning, InPE is overcoming difficult phases in the realm of satellites--application of satellite data to many different areas, satellite functioning, questions connected with the orbit and its parameters (measurements), subsystems for the Brazilian satellites; and the land-based equipment used in launch preparation, deployment in orbit, and satellite use and operation. InPE is well along in this project. Its experts have already built data-collection satellites and are getting ready to finish the remote sensing satellites.

The first type of satellite is part of the data collection program. These satellites weigh 100 kg each and are to be inserted into circular orbits at an altitude of 700 km, with a low orbit inclination and at a 25-degree angle between its orbital plane and that of the equator. In that orbit, they will complete one trip around the earth--sometimes a little above the equator, sometimes a little below due to the 25-degree angle--every 100 minutes, 35 of which will be spent in the earth's shadow. Their task is to monitor and measure temperature, pressure, wing velocity and direction, water levels in rivers and dams, rainfall, air and soil humidity, or insolation indices. To do this, data collection platforms which are little automatic land stations to be distributed throughout Brazil and equipped with sensors, will send a variety of data to the satellites, depending on where in Brazil each one is located. The satellites will store the data in their memories and, when they enter into contact with the receiving stations in Sao Jose dos Campus and Cachoeira Paulista, will transmit it all for immediate use. This will be a help to aircraft navigation and will help predict floods, keep farmers informed of rains or drought, etc.

The remote sensing satellites, which weigh 150 kg each and are shaped like an octagonal prism, will be deployed at an altitude of about 900 to 1,000 km. Equipped with cameras for observing the earth, a multispectral scanner to detect visible and invisible solar radiation (i.e., infrared rays) reflected by the earth, these satellites will transmit images on three bands of the spectrum. The images will be used to make an inventory of mineral resources, monitor crops, follow the course of erosion or ecological recuperation of afflicted areas, locate schools of fish in the sea, spot the spilling of pollutants into bodies of water or their emission into the air and even--as we recently showed you in MANCHETE--detect the minuscule and well hidden termites that are devastating the trees in Alto Xingu.

The key to the success of the lauching and operation of the satellites is already in the hands of InPE personnel: It is the capacity to develop systems to control satellites in orbit on three axes, as well as another system--vital to keeping the multispectral scanner aimed at the desired regions--the one that controls orbit and attitude, i.e., maintains the satellite's orientation in space in terms of angles and angular velocities. The system for controlling attitude will be a simple passive one, maintained by a 10-meter long antenna that will unfold in orbit, a sort of bowline for balancing. Control over the remote sensing will be achieved by jets of hot gas commanded from earth. Without the systems that have been developed, the satellites would risk drifting aimlessly in the inertial environment, or being sucked down by the gravity of the earth if they lose their velocity of rotation around their own axis--since their weight is compensated by the centrifugal force generated by that rotation--or of simply getting lost.

In addition to the structures that resist the acceleration force generated by the launch rocket until the satellite enters its orbit, each satellite will have backups for its most important equipment, since these are very sensitive. If one fails, its twin will come into service when ordered to from earth. Finally, the energy supply for the satellites is no secret either. It is assured by solar panels on the body of the satellites or on the deployable arms that will open once the satellite is in orbit and will power the equipment and store the excess power in batteries to be used when the satellites pass through the earth's shadow. In the last analysis, the advances made are so great that InPE is already thinking about developing a scientific satellite program, parallel with the Brazilian Space Mission. These will be satellites for research into solar flares, gamma rays, and irregularities in the ionosphere that affect satellite communications.

It is very possible that President Sarney,depending on the length of his term in office as defined by the forthcoming constitutional assembly, will be able to attend the launch--which is to take place in Alcantara in his home state--while he is still president. If this comes about, when he sees a genuinely Brazilian rocket and satellite go straight up toward the heavens, he will certainly conclude that he is witnessing the greatest moment in national technology and science of recent years. While both rocket and satellite are breaking through the earth's atmosphere toward outer space they will, at the same time, be breaking ties of technological dependency to enable the nation to fly even higher.

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CHILE

RADICAL PARTY SECRETARY GENERAL ON DIALOGUE, RECONCILIATION

Santiago COSAS in Spanish 29 May 86 pp 51-52

[Interview with Radical Party Secretary General Ricardo Navarrete Beganzo by Andre Jouffe, in Santiago; date not specified]

[Text] The Radical Party's headquarters on Santa Maria Avenue, opposite the Museum of Fine Arts, and looking out on the river and Loreto Bridge, resembles those headquarters of long ago, just after an electoral process: the walls with their blackboards filled with bulletins and notices; photocopies of press articles featuring the picture of Enrique Silva Cimma; and a feeling of emptiness that brings us back to the country's political reality: There are traditions and headquarters, but there is also a lack of continuous, massive activity. The rooms and corridors serve as a sounding board for the passage of leaders visiting the party about noon. The huge portrait of Manuel Antonio Matta, retrieved from the north thanks to a Radical collection, hangs in the office of the secretary general of the party founded by Matta y Gallo over 120 years ago, Ricardo Navarrete Beganzo (aged 36, with two children, and 20 years of militancy).

Exiled after the Eleven, he returned to Chile only 3 years ago. His fellow party members describe him as a moderate man in the party.

We Are Not Dead

[Question] Shortly before Alberto Baltra's death, he said that, with the start of Social Democracy,the Radical movement would die. Several years since that assertion was made, how correct was Baltra?

[Answer] I believe that the reality itself gives an answer to that claim. With over 120 years in existence, this party is still alive, with a desire to become the force that governed this country for four presidential terms: 14 years of uninterrupted government which no other political group in the history of Chile has succeeded in emulating. The Radical Party has not died, nor will it die. Our thinking is consubstantial with that of the majority of Chileans. Now, we must give the society the necessary guidance for addressing the claims that are being demanded by the country which, during this period, relate to freedom and democracy.

[Question] If your party's thinking is so consubstantial with that of Chilean society, why isn't this reflected in votes which, contrarily, are showing an increasing decline in members?

[Answer] I think that there are statistics which we cannot fail to acknowledge. Up until the 1960's the Radical Party represented between 15 and 20 percent of the national electorate; and in 1973, it reached 4 percent. These are objective figures associated with 25 years ago and 13 years ago. However, during these last 13 years we have had no opportunity to actually learn the degree of electoral affiliation that the different political movements, groups, or parties have in the country. Nevertheless, we have managed to show some success, essentially in the trade union and association area, in which the political parties have been able to compete during the past 2 years. And, in that respect, we feel quite satisfied, because we are the second-ranking electoral force among teachers, and we have a sizeable participation in the coal sector of the oil industry,and in the Confederation of Private Employees. It is our members who are heading the ANEF [National Association of Government Employees]. In other words, wherever there have been democratic elections, the Radical Party is present. However, the parties' real option is going to be observed and gauged in democracy.

[Question] Commentaries by foreign politicians and journalists indicate that we in Chile are seeking a political boss and not democracy per se; and that an interesting alternative program has not been devised. President Sanguinetti of Uruguay himself made a remark in this regard. At the same time, criticism is made of Enrique Silva Cimma, to the effect that he is seeking political bosses, and lacks charisma, having been described on one occasion as a "deplorable speaker." What do you say about this?

[Answer] This notion of simply pointing out certain political figures as playing the role of political boss when they have been victorious is not correct. I had the opportunity to meet Dr Raul Alfonsin in 1973, and I associated with his family. I talked at length with him. At that time, he was a man who, as president of the Radical Civic Union Party, did not enjoy charisma, was not a great speaker, and did not stand out for his leadership qualities. Nevertheless, the historical political contingencies have given Dr Alfonsin an importance and a role which, owing to his inner capacity and his extraordinary intellectual level, have enabled him to hold the position of a clearcut leader of the Argentine people, and today he is a leader that no one would dispute. I think that a similar phenomenon has occurred in the case of Enrique Silva Cimma: He has intellectual gifts beyond all debate. He has held noteworthy, important positions, such as that of the comptroller general of the republic (in which he served with a completely indisputable endeavor), and he has been a remarkable professor. Now it is likely that he is not a great speaker, and in this connection one must consider the speech that he delivered in O'Higgins Park in 1983, a very special speech which demanded consensus of the parties in the Alliance, and which obviously had to be given in terms that would not bring about or trigger a state of anger or violence that would have been unfeasible for the political period that the country was experiencing then.

So, one cannot gauge Enrique Silva Cimma's capacity for leadership and oratory on the basis of one speech. I, personally, have accompanied him through the country, and have heard his remarks before Radical assemblies and those of workers, and they have been masterful. Enrique Silva Cimma has succeeded in incorporating into the Radical Party a renewed concept of the policy that we have supported.

Concerning the other part of your question, I would like to note that contemporary politics is no longer the politics of persons, leaders, or political bosses, but rather the capacity of the parties to become entrenched in the society. It is no longer possible for an extraordinary man to create parties. Those groups are fleeting and incapable of projecting themselves over the long term.

[Question] While the cardinal was meeting with a leader of MDP [Popular Democratic Movement], some Alliance parties had it in mind to stop the dialogue with that movement. Isn't it contradictory that the top-ranking Church authority should hold dialogue with MDP under these circumstances?

[Answer] We are happy about that meeting. We Radicals have independently adopted the decision to converse with MDP because we are very firmly convinced that, to achieve real reconciliation, all the political forces must participate; no excluding strategy can be used. Therefore, what the cardinal has done is none other than to continue and reiterate a policy that he has been unfalteringly upholding since mid-1985. That is what gave life to the National Accord for Transition to Full Democracy. We are contributing the unity of the opposition with the clear understanding that we are, in that way, helping to prevent the polarization of forces that would cause serious harm to the country's democratic future. We are preventing an exacerbation of the path of violence and confrontation.

A La Adolfo Suarez

[Question] The U.S. State Department is apparently agreed on respecting General Pinochet's presidential term until 1989; what it does not want is his nomination as a single candidate for another term. They have offered two names: that of Hernan Cubillos and that of Sergio Onofre Jarpa, to carry out a transition in the Spanish style of Adolfo Suarez. What do you think of this American outlook?

[Answer] There has been a change in that country's policy toward Chile; and it has been reflected essentially by the change of ambassador, the vote in the United Nations at Geneva on the Volio report, and the declarations made by prominent State Department officials, such as Mr Elliot Abrams. However, we can by no means subject ourselves to this change in American policy. The task of recovering democracy in Chile is a task for Chileans. There is no doubt that the American government has an indisputable importance in all the processes of Latin America and Chile, and is not dissociated from that reality. So, if the United States Government is inclined to aid the democratization process, such assistance is welcome. But that does not subjugate us to them. If the

United States Government has devised a timetable such as the one you have cited, it is also a program different from that of the present government. Hence, there would be a difference with the country's democratic forces, and also a difference with the government of President Pinochet, which has staked all the unrestricted political expectations on the Constitution of 1980 and which is not considering either Adolfo Suarez, nor a Mr Jarpa, nor a Mr Cubillos, but rather is contemplating the reelection of the current president. The American administration should become associated with some of the forces which are in conflict in Chilean society today, and they are those of the democratic opposition. The American contribution to the process would be not to come in and stipulate deadlines that are now proving to be utopian and impossible to specify, because there is no entity that could ensure them: neither the Constitution of 1980 nor the opposition. We are not talking about 1989, but rather about hastening the action that will allow for the country's democratization, so as to return to civilian rule as soon as possible. The ones with whom the United States should speak are not the present government, but rather the majority opposition forces.

[Question] How do you intend to hasten the process?

[Answer] With the greatest wisdom and realism. And, saying this, I acknowlege a group of other parties that prompted us to sign the National Accord, a document supported by the United States House of Representatives, the State Department, the European Community, and the new Latin American democracies. It is a document of broad scope, unprecedented in the history of Chile, because of the times and the crisis which demanded this political stringency. We reject the violent course of action. Acting within the bounds of the agreement, we can only attract the broadest social sectors of the country through social mobilization, the only purpose of which is to succeed in putting an end to the present government. We must reach the point of convincing the present rulers that they have to turn over the political power to civilians.

[Question] Higher-ranking groups in the party claim that there is a great difference between what has been programmed and what is being practiced.

[Answer] The Radical Party must be consistent with its doctrines at present. It cannot commit the stupid act of being attracted by ideological raving that is alien to it and reneges on its tradition. We are, in essence, democratic socialists. And that does not achieve an alienating capitalist system, but rather a socialism with democracy that is profoundly humanist and independent. We are not a party of the center, but rather of the left, because we came into being as such. The fact is that the leftist concept of radicalism has no reason to resemble that of other leftist forces. We must admit that the party's participation in the Democratic Front during 1961 blurred its traditions and was in conflict with its doctrine; but the participation in Popular Unity was indisputably accompanied by assuming positions that were a product of the time. The forces became polarized and the option was reaction or revolution, capitalism or socialism, a process that was not led by the Radicals, but was, rather, determined by the Chilean Marxist forces. So, at that time, the party assumed positions which were correct in that historical contingency. For the past 3 years, no one can claim that we have said one thing and done another. The party made a political vow that we have been keeping: to struggle for democracy, to unite the opposition, and to offer the country a democratic socialist plan.

[Question] But unity is required for that. What differences are there between Anibal Palma and Enrique Silva Cimma?

[Answer] Our party is democratic, and therefore there is room for differences. The exercise of criticism is part of Radicalism. There are different positions regarding problems, but those differences that might have existed between Palma and Silva Cimma will never undermine the essence nor the basic ideas of the party. In the concrete instance of Palma, he has been engaging in the group's tasks with discipline, and is currently head of the First District of Santiago.

How Many PR Are There

[Question] The public is confused, because, every minute, new parties arrive bearing the name Radical. Why this proliferation of parties?

[Answer] The proliferation of parties and movements is damaging when they are not representative nor derived from conceptual alternatives in programs, but merely stress leaders, pettiness and ambitions. Hence, the proliferation of very small groups of individuals attempting to take the name Radical is damaging: it confuses and distorts. We trust that the citizens will not let themselves be confused by such things, and that, ultimately, those seeking to take the Radical thinking will end up caught in their own trap, whether they call themselves Radical Democracy, or Civic Union.

[Question] Do you have the same opinion of Social Democracy?

[Answer] No, it emerged in Chile during 1973, as a defection of a group of party members. They succeeded in developing a policy to attract, and now stand with a presence of their own. But there is no doubt that their propositions are very much in agreement with ours, which we have been upholding since the last century. Our positions have a great affinity, and for this reason we have established the Social Democratic Federation, as a step toward viewing the feasibility of forming a single party, or giving an incentive for the reunion of some sectors which used to be Radical.

[Question] Finally, would the Chilean Radicals do the same thing that the Argentine Radical president, Raul Alfonsin,did: try the Armed Forces?

[Answer] That is a delicate issue, and it is not dissociated from the spirit that we have been indicating with respect to the talks and the dialogue headed by the cardinal. In our opinion, what is fitting in an established democracy is to turn over to the justice system, which will have to be renovated in the civilian system, the responsibility for dealing with the various crimes that have been committed in the country during the past 13 years. And it will be the justice system that will apply the pertinent penalties, in an orderly, objective manner. We are not in favor of promoting people's courts, nor do we favor having the exercise of justice carried out on special or irregular levels of authority. It would be absurd. If we want to attain permanent goals, we must act objectively, case by case, and administer justice, penalizing if it is fitting, or not if it is not.

2909
CSO: 3348/629

RELATIONS WITH SOUTH AFRICA SEEN EXPANDING

Santiago MENSAJE in Spanish No 349 pp 208-211

[Article by Heraldo Munoz: "Chile and South Africa"]

[Text] During 1984 and 1985, a heavy worldwide offensive was carried out to put an end to the South African Government's racist practice of "apartheid," as well as to impede the Pretoria regime's aggression against Angola, Botswana, and other countries, and to end the South African occupation of Namibia. In mid-1985, several U.S. and European banks stopped their loans to Pretoria, while there was a heightening of the overt criticism from American business firms, such as IBM, against "apartheid." In this context, during September 1985, Ronald Reagan's administration, anticipating strong sanctions on the part of the U.S. Congress, imposed on Pretoria a group of punitive measures, including: a ban on computer sales to the South African security agencies; the stoppage of loans to the government; a ban on the transfer of certain types of nuclear technology; and the stoppage of imports of the South African gold coins, the "krugerrands." Simultaneously, Reagan harshly criticized "apartheid" and implicitly admitted the failure of "silent diplomacy" and the policy of "constructive engagement" in the policy toward South Africa; claiming that, from then on, the U.S. would promote a strategy of "active constructive engagement."*

In contrast, at that precise time the Chilean defense minister, Vice Adm Patricio Carvajal, was visiting South Africa and claiming that "apartheid has been magnified by the international press," that "there is a lack of understanding in the world and among the international agencies of the problems of the Republic of South Africa," and, furthermore, that "Soviet imperialism has distorted the incidents that might occur both in South Africa and Chile." **

The statements of the Chilean defense minister reflect the close relations that have developed between the Santiago and Pretoria governments since September 1973. These bonds also explain the coolness of the ties between Chile and most of the African countries, to which Pretoria's racist regime is anathema.

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* See TIME, 23 September 1985, pp 36-37.

** Carvajal quoted in EL MERCURIO, 8 November 1985 p C 1.

Economic Relations

Unlike the situation that has been observed in the rest of the African continent, General Pinochet's government has maintained particularly active economic relations with the Republic of South Africa. In January 1976, Chile established a Consulate General in the city of Pretoria (raised to the rank of Embassy in 1981), whereby the trade between the two countries has increased from virtually zero in 1976 to over $30 million in 1979, reaching almost $40 million in 1982, and exceeding $60 million in 1984. * A major share of this increase has been due to the activity carried out by the Chilean-South African Chamber of Commerce, established in 1980, which has become a dynamic, stable entity engaged in promoting trade between the two countries.

Financial cooperation has been another major area in Chilean-South African relations, stemming from the rise in bilateral trade. Thus, a close link has ocurred between the banks and financial institutions engaged in granting loans that promote mutual exports. Moreover, the South African Industrial Development Corporation (IDC), equivalent to the former Chilean CORFO [Production Development Corporation], has arranged special loans for Chilean business owners who wish to import capital goods for the execution of "turn-key" industrial projects made in South Africa. To be added to this is the increase in recent years in South African investments in Chile, which are concentrated in fishing activity, manufacture of industrial equipment, mining, and ship construction and repair.

According to information contained in a special 12-page supplement of EL MERCURIO devoted to South Africa, between 1982 and 1984, Pretoria invested nearly $100 million in Chile, thereby becoming one of the leading investors in the country. ** Meanwhile, the bilateral trade increased by 300 percent between 1978 and the beginning of 1984. What is even more significant, despite the fact that Chile's total trade declined 37 percent during the period 1980-83, the Chilean-South African trade rose by about 57 percent. *** Prominent among the investments made by various South African companies in Chile are the construction of a canning plant in the northern city of Iquique, announced in February 1981, for which the Fedfood and Kaap-Lunene firms of Johannesburg, and the Tarapaca Fishery Company of Chile made a joint investment of $8 million;**** construction of a Chilean-South African fishery plant in the port of Caldera, which opened in June 1984; * and the joint project between the Chilean Navy's Yards and Docks (ASMAR) and the South African firm, Sandock Austral, for the construction, at a cost of $13 million, of a shipyard in the southern city of Punta Arenas, to be used to repair the fishing boats and large tugs backing the petroleum activities in the South Pacific and the Antarctic seas, which will have a capacity to handle ships of up to 4,000 tons. ** In addition, at the beginning of 1982, the South African consortium, Anglo-American, purchased 40 percent of the ownership of the Hochschild group's companies, thereby becoming joint owner of firms located in Chile, such as Mantos Blancos Mining, the Malloa Agroindustrial Consortium, and Mauricio Hochschild, S.A.I.C.

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* See statistics in the Central Bank of Chile's "Foreign Trade Indicators," Bureau of Operations, December 1984.

** See "Supplement: South Africa, a Multifaceted Country," EL MERCURIO, 1 June 1984.

*** See LA TERCERA, 31 May 1984, p 14.

**** See EL MERCURIO, 20 February 1981, p A 8.

The most ambitious South African project was unquestionably the one designed to procure fuel for transportation from natural gas reserves and the gasification of the coal reserves existing in Chile, the implementation of which entailed an initial investment of $1.5 billion, but which ultimately failed to materialize.

On repeated occasions, Chile has participated in international fairs in South Africa, such as the Rand Show, while South Africa has been present with booths at the Santiago International Fair (FISA). In another area of bilateral relations, during December 1980 the vice rector of the University of Pretoria visited Santiago, an occasion on which he signed an extensive "agreement for mutual cooperation and integration in various fields," with the Catholic University of Chile. ***. Also, in October 1982, a group of South African congressmen belonging to the government party arrived in Chile and, as part of their briefing visit, met with members of the Government Junta and some ministers.

Politico-Military Relations

The connections between the Santiago and Pretoria governments have been particularly active in the politico-military realm. And this is due, on the one hand, to the fact that both regimes confront similar circumstances of international isolation; and, on the other, to the ideological agreement converging in a common position of both governments regarding "communist expansion." The latter has been clearly expressed on various occasions, such as in Pretoria, during September 1982, on the occasion of the ceremonies marking Chilean Army Day, when representatives of the Chilean and South African Armed Forces declared that both armies are fighting the same enemy, "international Marxism and the terrorism that it is nurturing. * Apart from the ideological elements, there are two factors that have also dynamized Chile's military rapprochement with South Africa. The first is associated with the need for having potential allies in troublesome situations, such as the one that arose in 1978, when the tension with Argentina was exacerbated concerning the southern zone; despite the fact that, at the time, the Argentine military government boasted excellent relations with Pretoria. ** The second, directly linked with the first, arises from the need for the Chilean Armed Forces as a whole to have alternate sources of supplies in the event of a refusal from their traditional suppliers to sell them military equipment.

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* See EL MERCURIO, 16 June 1984 p A 10.

** See EL MERCURIO, 17 September 1983, p A 1, and JOURNAL OF COMMERCE, 18 June 1984.

*** See EL MERCURIO, 8 December 1980, p C 2.

Owing to the fact that information on arms transactions is "confidential" in nature, it has been impossible to establish exactly the type of amount of equipment that Chile has purchased from South Africa. But there are at least reports indicating that, in 1981, the Chilean Government purchased several units of the "Cactus" ground-to-air missile system from the South African firm ARMSCOR. *** Moreover, a study of the South African arms industry claims that Pretoria's participation in the FIDA-1984 Air Exposition in Chile was a key to the South African strategy of military sales in Latin America; in view of which, as a sign of appreciation, Pretoria reportedly pledged technical assistance for Chile's growing military industry. ****

For the Chilean Air Force, South Africa represents an excellent alternative for purchasing new combat aircraft and equipment, as well as possible technological backup that would enable it to continue developing the nascent National Aeronautics Enterprise (ENAER). As for the Chilean police, particularly the National Guard Corps, they maintain a flow of exchange with their South African counterparts. Finally, there is one aspect of Chilean-South African military cooperation that has proven of particular interest to General Pinochet's government. This has resulted from the joint training programs carried out in South Africa, wherein members of the Chilean Armed Forces have gained experience in counter-insurgence operations, even (according to one report) in the Namibian theater of operations. ***** In this connection, we should stress the case of the commander of the Chilean Air Force Squadron, Roberto Fuentes Morrison, who was in South Africa with a special visa in his capacity as an FACH [Chilean Air Force] reserve officer, taking a "course specializing in crytography," when he was forced to travel to Chile in October 1985, to testify at a judicial investigation on missing persons in Chile during 1976. At the end of December 1985, when the period of Fuentes Morrison's bail ordered by the courts expired, that officer returned to South Africa to continue the aforementioned special course.

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* See EL MERCURIO, 29 January 1983, p A 8.

** Furthermore, it was rumored that, in 1978, when war was about to break out between Chile and Argentina, South Africa granted Buenos Aires the right to purchase three warships ordered in Europe, which were in the process of delivery at the time.

*** See "The New Arms Merchants," NEWSWEEK, 9 November 1981, pp 30-33.

**** See Andrew Terrill,"South African Arms Sales and the Strengthening of Apartheid," AFRICA TODAY, Vol 31, No 2, pp 9-10.

***** Rogelio Garcia Lupo, "South Africa: Pinochet's Silent Ally," HUMOR, Buenos Aires, No 117, November 1983.

But Chilean-South African military cooperation goes beyond the sale of military equipment. The Chilean Navy has a latent interest in the possibility of updating the South African 1969 proposal for the formation of an organiaation for the defense of the South Atlantic of the NATO type, in which the South American countries bordering the Atlantic, Chile, and South Africa would participate. But, after the Brazilian opening toward Africa during the 1970's, and the Falklands War, which alienated the Argentines from Pretoria when greater sympathy for the British was perceived in South Africa, the plan became impracticable; and more so under the current circumstances of a democratic government in Argentina and the signing of the Peace and Friendship Agreement between Chile and Argentina in connection with the southern zone.

Visits and Decorations

The heightening of Chilean-South African military friendship is reflected in the reciprocal visits paid by delegations of high-ranking officers of their Armed Forces. Nevertheless, it should be noted that, although almost all the members of the Government Junta have visited South Africa, there has been no knowledge that the Pretoria regime has tendered General Pinochet an invitation to visit that country.

In 1979, a delegation from the South African Armed Forces, headed by their commander in chief, Gen Magnus Malan, arrived in Chile. This visit was repaid the next year by the commander in chief of the Chilean Navy and member of the Government Junta, Adm Jose Toribio Merino, who visited South Africa during November. * The ideological agreement between both Armed Forces was made clear in the remarks delivered by General Malan (later named defense minister in the P. W. Botha government) during the ceremony at which he received Admiral Merino. General Malan declared that the West "has decided to ignore the worldwide threat represented by communism"; adding later that the Chilean Government "had the courage to denounce and to act successfully against the common threat of communism. **

The return visits on the part of South African naval officers were not long in arriving. During February 1981, the chief of staff of the South African Naval Force, Adm Jacob A. C. Wideman, arrived, accompanied by several naval officers, visited Valparaiso, and met with various Chilean authorities. In May, Rear Adm Martinus Albertus Becker, general director of services for the South African Armed Forces, arrived, having traveled to Chile at the special invitation of Adm Jose Toribio Merino, to participate in the ceremonies marking the Chilean naval victories (21 May). This officer was decorated by the acting chief of staff of the Chilean Navy, Rear Adm Francisco Ghisolfo, who used the occasion to underscore the responsibility that Chile and South Africa share in the defense of the South Atlantic. One of the last visits by a high-ranking South African naval officer took place in May 1983, an occasion when its commander in chief, Vice Adm Andrus Petrus Putter arrived in the country at the special invitation of the commander in chief of the Chilean Navy, to attend the 104th anniversary celebration of the naval battle of Iquique. In addition to touring all the Chilean naval facilities, he visited Punta Arenas, and met with various Chilean authorities. Vice Adm Petrus Putter was decorated with the Star of Military Merit, in the degree of "Great Star," granted by the Chilean Armed Forces.

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* See EL MERCURIO, 18 November 1980, p C 3.

** Quoted in EL MERCURIO, 29 January 1983, p A 8.

In May 1981, responding to an invitation from the South African defense minister, Magnus Malan, the commander in chief of the Chilean Air Force and member of the Government Junta, Gen Fernando Matthei, traveled to that country. Upon his return to Chile, he hinted the possibility that, in the future, the FACH might purchase aircraft and military equipment from South Africa, because that country (as General Matthei remarked) has "an excellent industry and technological capacity that could at some time represent material backup for us, inasmuch as we could purchase there products that are denied to us elswhere." He concluded by saying "this was perhaps the most important part of my visit," although he declined to go into detail. *

Also during 1981, in November, the then head of the National Guard and member of the Government Junta, Gen Cesar Mendoza Duran, traveled to South Africa at the invitation of that country's general commissioner of police, Michael Geldenhuys. Upon returning to Chile, General Mendoza remarked: "The bilateral relations are on an optimal level, and there are many points of agreement between the two countries for mutual cooperation and complementation"; ** a situation which, in the particular instance of the Chilean military-police force, was translated into the establishment of a constant exchange with the South African police. Thus, in mid-December 1981, Lt Gen Michael Geldenhuys arrived in Chile and, after meeting with General Pinochet, commented: "We are very happy to have friends in Chile, because, although we are so far removed geographically, we think the same way." ***

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* Quoted in LA TERCERA, 12 July 1981, p 9.

** See LA TERCERA, 10 October 1981, p 7.

***. Quoted in EL MERCURIO, December 1981, p C 3.

Insofar as the representatives of the South African Army are concerned, they have generally come as guests at the ceremonies marking national independence during September. In 1981, the South African military delegation was headed by the chief of staff of the Navy, Lt Gen Pidter Wilien van der Westhuizem. In 1983, the level of the South African delegation invited to the September celebration was raised, because, this time, it was headed by the Army commander in chief, Lt Gen Johannes J. Geldenhuys. This was interpreted as a sign that the relations between General Pinochet's goverment and South Africa were still continuing to thrive. Pursuing this upward direction, in August 1984, the commander in chief of the South African Armed Forces, Gen Constand. L. Viljoen, visited Chile and (during an interview with Pinochet) underscored the friendship and brotherhood that exists between Chile and South Africa, also noting that both countries are faced with similar situations and challenges.

The change in the South African ambassador to Santiago occurring in mid-1984 bolstered the relations between the Air Forces of both countries in particular; because the new diplomat, Antoine Michal Mueller, had served until 29 February of that same year as commander in chief of his country's Air Force. Moreover, in April 1985, the school ship "Esmeralda," visited South Africa on its third voyage to that country (the previous visit dated back to 1981). In conclusion, the most recent milestone in what seems to be a still more heightened Chilean-South African relationship was the visit paid to Chile by the South African vice minister of defense and internal order, Adrian Vlok, who came to witness the FIDA-86 International Air Fair; an occasion of which the South African official took advantage to learn directly about the investments in the Punta Arenas shipyards.

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POLITICAL ATTITUDES, TRENDS SURVEYED IN POLL

Santiago HOY in Spanish 26 May-1 Jun 86 pp 21-26

[Article: "The Chilean's Political Profile"]

[Text] There are internal contradictions. The vast majority of Chileans think that religion is important in their lives, but they do not participate in religious ceremonies. Another sizeable percentage think that "the political parties only serve to divide people," but they firmly believe that "without parties there can be no democracy."

The paradoxical conclusions come from a public opinion study devised by the Latin American School of Social Sciences (FLACSO), with the assistance of the Ibero-American Cooperation Institute (ICI) of Spain, and the Swedish Agency for Research Cooperation (SAREC) of Sweden.

Using a 28-question poll, the project sought to learn the feelings in our society toward politics. For this purpose, 600 persons of both sexes over age 18, belonging to all socioeconomic strata, and residing in Greater Santiago, were questioned.

Angel Flisfisch, a researcher from FLACSO, remarked: "This is a stringent poll, attempting to discover the most stable features of Chilean political culture."

The poll was taken between 21 November and 6 December 1985. During that period, the national interest revolved around the opposition gathering held in O'Higgins Park. In Geneva, Switzerland, Reagan and Gorbachev were meeting; and on Castillo hill in Vina del Mar, President Pinochet was showing up trotting on Monday morning, 25 November. In the Valparaiso jail, the student Gonzalo Munoz Aravena was murdered by common criminals.

National Problems

Studies on political attitudes are but few in Chile. According to Flisfisch, "There is no previous work with which this can be compared." For this reason, the only political profile of the Chilean made during this decade emerges from the results of this poll.

The investigation starts by spotting the country's major current problems (Table 1). Therein is revealed the impact from difficulties of an economic type, selected by a majority. The propositions "economic problems," "unemployment, lack of a job," "hunger, poverty, distress," and "health, housing, and education," receive 857 mentions (74.6 percent of the total). The low percentage received by political and moral problems is obvious.

Regarding the society in which we live, the relative majority (43 percent) think that "it needs major reforms," while 30 percent think that "it should be radically changed." Only 2 percent deem it "good as it is," and 25 percent believe that "it could be improved with minor changes."

There is a clear perception of the need for changes. According to Flisfisch, "One assumes that underlying this there is at least dissatisfaction. The situation is disturbing."

Nevertheless, when confronted with moral change, the majority feeling (69 percent) among those polled is that the morality and customs in the country are changing "too quickly." A total of 17 percent think that the change is taking place "suitably," and 14 percent, that it is "too slow."

Politics

When queried about their feeling toward politics, those polled showed more negative positions (53 percent) than positive ones (47 percent). Included among the former were "indifference" (29 percent), "boredom" (6 percent), and "rejection" (18 percent). Categorized as positive were "enthusiasm" (7 percent) and "interest" (40 percent).

These results are rated as normal in comparison with other Latin American countries. This feeling may be partially attributed to the steady anti-political propaganda being made by the government, but one should not overlook the fact that there are but few involved in politics in any country.

A feature of inflexibility appeared when the question was asked about principles in politics (Table 2): 53 percent thought that "one should always be faithful to one's own principles," disclosing a more dogmatic, "principled" attitude; and 33 percent believed that, "sometimes one must sacrifice a principle to achieve something important," revealing a pragmatic attitude. And 14 percent noted: "One must know how to adjust to circumstances, without concern for principles," demonstrating a pragmatism devoid of values.

The majority tendency is toward inflexibility, which would influence an attitude rather unfavorable to negotiation.

But this inflexible attitude toward principles is at odds with other tendencies. With a view toward the democratic future, 34 percent believe that it would be better to have "a government with all the parties"; 6 percent would prefer "a right of center government"; and 12 percent, "a left of center government"

(Table 3). The majority choice, in this case 52 percent, is for those alternatives which involve negotiations.

Other options are for a center government (25 percent), a rightist one (14 percent), and a leftist one (9 percent).

The Parties

The previous attitude has an additional explanation (in the view of the FLACSO researchers). Confronted with a questionnaire on political parties (Table 6), the negative attitudes ("parties divide people," 52 percent, and "parties fight one another but they are really all the same" with an identical percentage) were in the majority.

Nevertheless, the positive attitudes ("parties are necessary to protect the interests of the different social groups and classes," with 79 percent, and "without parties there could be no democracy," with 78 percent) were also in the majority.

The apparent contradiction was interpreted as a reaction toward the division caused by the parties' activity and the memory of the partisan disputes of previous decades. This assertion is reinforced in another question relating to the number of parties that should exist. The majority, a total of 59 percent, express opposition to the proliferation of parties. That is inferred from the sum of the percentages supporting the alternatives "that no parties should exist" (13 percent), "that there be a single party" (15 percent), or "that there should be only two large parties" (33 percent).

A percentage fluctuating between 20 and 25 shows a constant negative attitude toward the parties, while 28 percent (comprised of those who selected the options "there should be no parties" and "there should be a single party") demonstrates"antidemocratic tendencies" (in Flisfisch's opinion).

The Government

Starting with that 28 percent with antidemocratic tendencies, one can profile its real configuration in the society further still.

When asked about the government regime (Table 4), six out of every 10 persons polled answered "democracy is preferable to any other type of government"; while 26 percent noted that "one regime gives the same thing as another to people like me," showing apathy and indifference; whereas 14 percent said "under some circumstances, a non-democratic government might be preferable to a democratic one," accepting the response aimed at detecting anti-democratic attitudes.

This last figure (averaged with the 28 percent found in the questions on political parties) enables the FLACSO researchers to claim that, "The anti-democratic component in Chilean society is approximately 20 percent," in other words, a fifth of those queried.

Another observation was the fact that the concept of democracy has evolved for Chileans. Faced with the option that "democracy is good because the majority are always right" (a concept associated with the French Revolution), which received 19 percent preference, the option "democracy is good because it allows the citizens to check the rulers' abuses" (a concept associated with modern democratic societies) received 81 percent.

Flisfisch remarks: "If the concept has evolved and has been learned by the people, this is something that will be corroborated when the same question is asked a few years hence."

It was also made clear that the census-based vote is rejected. When asked whether the vote of the more educated should count more than that of the less educated, only 8 percent thought that it should; while 92 percent rejected the proposition, revealing an egalitarian attitude.

General Preferences

The poll also showed that the country is presidentialist, according to Flisfisch. When asked what the best way of organizing the government was, 55 percent thought that it should be with "a president with great power and Congress should be limited to controlling it"; while 45 percent thought that it should be with "a Congress with great power" (Table 5).

Statism also appeared as a predominant attitude. When asked who is responsible for providing work to Chileans, 66 percent said that it should be the government; 19 percent thought that it should be private enterprise; and 15 percent opted for a mixed method (Table 9). Other similar questions regarding the setting of prices of items of prime necessity and health services brought similar figures.

With respect to types of social pressure (Table 7), the majority expressed a positive attitude toward the act of "petitioning the authorities" (56 percent approve it completely and 37 percent only approve it). Writing on walls appeared as the most repudiated method (29 percent disapprove of it, and 55 percent disapprove of it completely).

As for political preferences, those queried were asked to take a position on a line in which the number 1 represented the most leftist position and 100 the one most to the right. The responses gave 13 percent to the "left" category, 21 percent to the "left of center," 33 percent to the "center," 18 percent to "right of center," and 15 percent to "right."

In terms of the old Chilean political configuration, the "three thirds" arrangement is reproduced (Table 8).

The Role of the Church

When those polled were asked to identify the most significant national actors, the Church (regardless of creeds) occupied a preeminent position: 60 percent of the responses cited it as the institution "that has contributed most to the country's good during recent years." Ranking second were the Armed Forces and the professional associations (with 10 percent mention). The latter increased to 32 percent in a second round of questions, thus holding the second highest place.

Nevertheless, the Church's preponderance over other sectors of national life is associated with a contradictory attitude. When asked about the frequency with which they attend religious services, 70 percent said that they attended "a few times a year" or "never"' while 30 percent fluctuated between "two or three times a month" and "over once a week."

The contradiction was obvious when they were asked about the importance of religion: 82 percent said that it was "very important" or "important" in their lives.

In the family area, one detected a decline in "macho" attitudes. When asked who should make the decisions on the children's education and who is responsible for managing the money for major expenses, the majority were inclined to answer that it should be "the father and mother" (96 and 72 percent, respectively).

But when asked about women working the "macho" attitude (59 percent showed negative attitudes toward it, while 47 percent favored it) prevailed again; although by a small difference, if one considers the fact that this idea was thought to be very much entrenched in Chile

The last statements in the poll were aimed at detecting values. In this regard, 10 questions were asked, four of which were selected by HOY (Table 10).

Faced with the assertion that "the youth should go to the university to study and not to meddle in politics," a strong support was observed (32 percent are "very much agreed" and 29 percent "agreed").

With the proposition that "there is a single truth in everything, the difficult part is discovering it," the total support amounted to 80 percent. This statement (according to the FLACSO researchers) sought to gauge the authoritarian-type attitudes that exist.

Then, with the statement that "the freedom of each individual is more important than social tranquillity," the support and rejection were shared: a total of 53 percent rejected it, and 44 percent supported it.

The final statement ("the working class has purer and better sentiments than any other social class") sought to detect leftist authoritarian attitudes. The proposition received 56 percent support and 41 percent rejection.

The only question in the study which sought politically risky information was the one regarding the National Accord: 75 percent responded that it would be preferable "if there were government-accord negotiation"; 17 percent came out in favor of the idea that "there should be none"; and 8 percent replied that it was all the same to them. Possibly another contradiction with the inflexibility revealed in other questions?

Key to Table 1:

1. Most important national problems
2. What do you consider Chile's most important problems at present? (multiple responses * to open question) **
3. Topic
4. Economic problems
5. Unemployment, lack of jobs
6. Government, dictatorship
7. Hunger, poverty, distress
8. Political problems
9. Terrorism
10. Social disorganization
11. Health, housing, education
12. Crime, drug addiction, prostitution
13. Lack of communication, moral crisis
14. Human rights, torture
15. Disorganization among the opposition
16. Others
17. Persons
18. Percentage
19. Graph
20. * In this and other questions allowing more than one answer from each person polled, the percentages have been calculated based on the total sample, that is, 600 cases.
21. ** In this and other open questions, the person polled answered in his own words, and the answers were later categorized and coded in the categories which appear in the respective tables.

(1)

Problemas nacionales más importantes

1

¿Cuáles cree usted que son los problemas más importantes de Chile en este momento? (Respuestas múltiples[1] a pregunta abierta)[2] (2)

(3) Tema	(17) Personas	(18) Porcentaje	(19) Gráfico
(4) Problemas económicos	385	64%	
(5) Cesantía, falta de trabajo	362	60%	
(6) Gobierno, dictadura	88	15%	
(7) Hambre, pobreza, miseria	81	14%	
(8) Problemas políticos	60	10%	
(9) Terrorismo	49	8%	
(10) Desorganización social	42	7%	
(11) Salud, vivienda, educación	29	5%	
(12) Delincuencia, drogadicción, prostitución	18	3%	
(13) Falta de comunicación, crisis moral	12	2%	
(14) Derechos humanos, tortura	9	2%	
(15) Desorganización de la oposición	7	1%	
(16) Otros	9	2%	

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(20)
[1] En ésta, y otras preguntas, que permiten más de una respuesta de cada encuestado, los porcentajes se han calculado sobre el total de la muestra, es decir, sobre 600 casos.

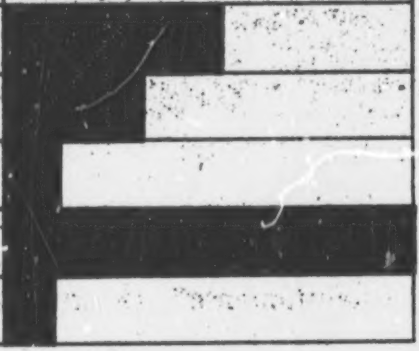
(21)
[2] En ésta y otras preguntas abiertas, el encuestado contestó con sus propias palabras y, posteriormente, se clasificó y codificó las respuestas, en las categorías que aparecen en los cuadros respectivos.

(1)
Los principios en política

2

(2) **¿Podría decirme con cuál de estas tres opiniones sobre cómo se debería actuar en política está usted más de acuerdo?**

(3) Tema	Personas	(9) Porcentaje	(10) Gráfico
(4) En política se debe ser siempre fiel a los propios principios	285	53%	
(5) En política, a veces, hay que sacrificar algún principio para conseguir algo importante	179	33%	
(6) En política hay que saber adaptarse a las circunstancias, sin preocuparse de los principios	75	14%	
Total	539	100%	
(7) No responde	61	10%	

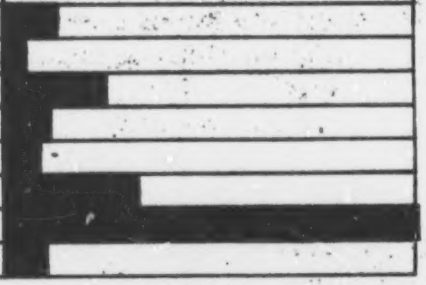


(1)
Gobierno futuro

3

(2) **Hablando de futuro democrático del país, ¿qué cree que sería mejor para Chile?**

(3) Tema	(11) Personas	(12) Porcentaje	(13) Gráfico
(4) Un gobierno de derecha	73	14%	
(5) Un gobierno de centro-derecha	32	6%	
(6) Un gobierno de centro	126	25%	
(7) Un gobierno de centro-izquierda	61	12%	
(8) Un gobierno de izquierda	45	9%	
(9) Un gobierno de todos los partidos	176	34%	
Total	513	100%	
(10) No responde	67	11%	



Key to Table 2:

1. Principles in politics
2. Could you tell me with which of these three opinions of how one should act in politics you are most in agreement?
3. Topic
4. In politics one should always be faithful to one's own principles
5. In politics sometimes a principle must be sacrificed to achieve something important
6. In politics one must know how to adjust to circumstances, without concern for principles
7. No answer
8. Persons
9. Percentage
10. Graph

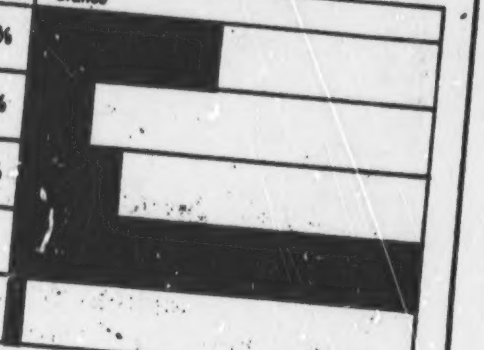
Key to Table 3:

1. Future government
2. Speaking of the country's democratic future, what do you think would be best for Chile?
3. Topic
4. A rightist government
5. A right of center government
6. A centrist government
7. A left of center government
8. A leftist government
9. A government of all the parties
10. No answer
11. Persons
12. Percentage
13. Graph

(1)
Democracia

4

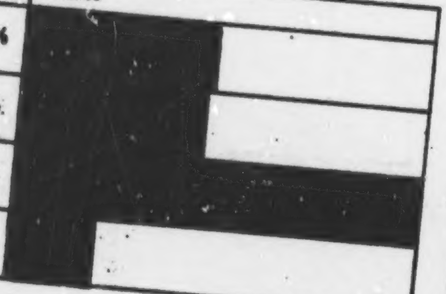
(2) **Me gustaría que me dijera con cuál de las siguientes frases está usted más de acuerdo.**

Tema (3)	(8) Personas	(9) Porcentaje	(10) Gráfico
La democracia es preferible a cualquier otra forma de gobierno (4)	343	60%	
En algunas circunstancias, un gobierno no democrático puede ser preferible a uno democrático (5)	81	14%	
A la gente como yo, lo mismo nos da un régimen que otro (6)	152	26%	
Total	576	100%	
No responde (7)	24	4%	

(1)
Forma de gobierno

5

¿Cuál cree usted que es la mejor forma de organizar el gobierno en Chile? (2)

Tema (3)	(7) Personas	(8) Porcentaje	(9) Gráfico
Un Presidente con mucho poder y que el Congreso se limite a controlarlo (4)	266	55%	
Un Congreso con mucho poder (5)	222	45%	
Total	488	100%	
No responde (6)	112	19%	

Partidos políticos (1)

6

La gente tiene opiniones muy distintas sobre los partidos políticos, ¿me puede (2) Ud. decir si está de acuerdo o en desacuerdo con las opiniones que le voy a dar?

Tema (3)	Muy (9) de acuerdo	De (10) acuerdo	(11) Desacuerdo	Muy en (12) desacuerdo	Total	No (13) responde
Los partidos políticos sólo sirven para dividir a la gente (4)	107 (19%)	184 (33%)	189 (32%)	94 (16%)	584 (100%)	16 (3%)
Los partidos son necesarios para defender los intereses de los distintos grupos y clases sociales (5)	122 (21%)	333 (58%)	97 (17%)	23 (4%)	575 (100%)	25 (4%)
Los partidos pelean mucho entre sí, pero en realidad son todos iguales (6)	86 (15%)	212 (37%)	175 (30%)	105 (18%)	578 (100%)	22 (4%)
Sin partidos no puede haber democracia (7)	169 (29%)	278 (48%)	104 (18%)	23 (4%)	574 (100%)	26 (4%)
Los partidos no sirven para nada (8)	45 (8%)	97 (17%)	244 (42%)	193 (33%)	579 (100%)	21 (4%)

Key to Table 4:

1. Democracy
2. I would like you to tell me with which of the following statements you are most in agreement?
3. Topic
4. Democracy is preferable to any other type of government
5. Under some circumstances, a non-democratic government might be preferable to a democratic one
6. One regime or another gives people like me the same thing
7. No answer
8. Persons
9. Percentage
10. Graph

Key to Table 5:

1. Type of government
2. What do you think is the best way of organizing the government in Chile?
3. Topic
4. A president with great power and the Congress limited to controlling it
5. A Congress with great power
6. No answer
7. Persons
8. Percentage
9. Graph

Key to Table 6:

1. Political parties
2. People have very different opinions about political parties. Can you tell me whether you agree or disagree with the opinions that I shall give you?
3. Topic
4. Political parties only serve to divide people
5. Parties are necessary to protect the interests of the different social groups and classes
6. Parties fight with each other a great deal, but they are really all the same
7. There can be no democracy without parties
8. Parties are not useful for anything
9. Very much agreed
10. Agreed
11. Disagreed
12. Very disagreed
13. No answer

Formas de presión social (1)

7

A veces, para reclamar o dar a conocer su opinión sobre algún problema, la gente realiza algunas de las acciones que voy a mencionarle. Quisiera saber en qué medida Ud. las aprueba o desaprueba. (2)

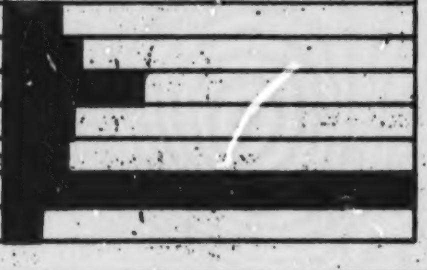
Tema (3)	(11) Aprueba completamente	(12) Aprueba	(13) Desaprueba	(14) Desaprueba completamente	Total	(15) No responde
Las huelgas (4)	137 (23%)	260 (44%)	118 (20%)	76 (13%)	591 (100%)	9 (2%)
Hacer peticiones a las autoridades (5)	331 (56%)	214 (37%)	36 (6%)	8 (1%)	589 (100%)	11 (2%)
Cortar el tránsito (6)	34 (6%)	83 (14%)	238 (41%)	229 (39%)	582 (100%)	18 (3%)
Ocupación de fábricas o escuelas (7)	40 (7%)	117 (20%)	183 (31%)	247 (42%)	587 (100%)	13 (2%)
Las marchas (8)	124 (21%)	224 (38%)	101 (17%)	138 (24%)	587 (100%)	13 (2%)
Rayar murallas (9)	35 (6%)	57 (10%)	172 (29%)	322 (55%)	586 (100%)	14 (2%)
Tocar cacerolas (10)	121 (21%)	182 (31%)	145 (25%)	138 (23%)	586 (100%)	14 (2%)

Preferencias políticas (1).

8

En esta línea el 1 representa la izquierda y el 100 la derecha. Por favor indíqueme en qué punto se ubica Ud. (2)

Tema (3)	(10) Personas	(11) Porcentaje	(12) Gráfico
Izquierda (1-25) (4)	68	13%	
Centro Izquierda (26-49) (5)	116	21%	
Centro (50) (6)	181	33%	
Centro-derecha (51-75) (7)	100	18%	
Derecha (76-100) (8)	81	15%	
Total	546	100%	
No responde (9)	54	9%	

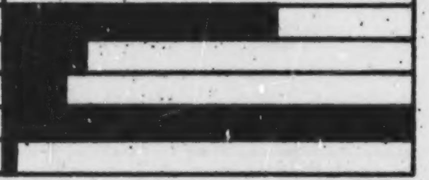


Rol del Estado (1)

9

¿Quién cree usted que tiene la principal responsabilidad de dar trabajo a todos los chilenos? (2)

Tema (3)	(8) Personas	(9) Porcentaje	(10) Gráfico
El gobierno (4)	384	66%	
La empresa privada (5)	114	19%	
Ambos (6)	87	15%	
Total	585	100%	
No responde (7)	15	3%	



Key to Table 7:

1. Types of social pressure
2. Sometimes, to make demands or express their opinion on a problem, people engage in some of the acts that I shall mention to you. I would like to know the extent to which you approve or disapprove of them.
3. Topic
4. Strikes
5. Making petitions to the authorities
6. Stopping traffic
7. Occupying factories or schools
8. Marches
9. Writing on walls
10. Banging pots
11. Approve completely
12. Approve
13. Disapprove
14. Disapprove completely
15. No answer

Key to Table 8:

1. Political preferences
2. On this line, 1 represents the left and 100, the right. Please tell me at which point you position yourself.
3. Topic
4. Left
5. Left of center
6. Center
7. Right of center
8. Right
9. No answer
10. Persons
11. Percentage
12. Graph

Key to Table 9:

1. Role of the state
2. Who do you think has the main responsibility for providing employment to all Chileans?
3. Topic
4. The government
5. Private industry
6. Both
7. No answer
8. Persons
9. Percentage
10. Graph

Valores (1) 10

A continuación le leeré una serie de frases que la gente dice. (2)
Para cada una de ellas, me gustaría que me dijera si está de acuerdo o en desacuerdo.

Tema (3)	(8) Muy de acuerdo	(9) De acuerdo	(10) Indiferente	(11) En desacuerdo	(12) Muy en desacuerdo	Total	(13) No responde
-- Los jóvenes deberían ir a la universidad a estudiar y no a meterse en política (4)	[illegible]	173 (29%)	9 (2%)	147 (24%)	76 (13%)	597 (100%)	3 (1%)
--En todas las cosas hay siempre una sola verdad: lo difícil es descubrirla (5)	168 (29%)	[illegible]	8 (1%)	86 (15%)	21 (4%)	581 (100%)	19 (3%)
-- Es más importante la libertad de cada uno que la tranquilidad social (6)	89 (15%)	172 (29%)	17 (3%)	[illegible]	53 (9%)	586 (100%)	14 (2%)
— La clase obrera tiene sentimientos más puros y mejores que cualquiera otra clase social (7)	123 (21%)	[illegible]	15 (3%)	189 (32%)	53 (9%)	587 (100%)	13 (2%)

Key to Table 10:

1. Values
2. Next, I shall read to you a series of statements made by people. For each of them, I would like you to tell me whether you agree or disagree.
3. Topic
4. The youth should attend the university to study and not to meddle in politics
5. In all things there is always a single truth; what is difficult is to discover it
6. The freedom of each person is more important than social tranquillity
7. The working class has purer and better sentiments than any othe social class
8. Very much agreed
9. Agreed
10. Indifferent
11. Disagreed
12. Very disagreed
13. No answer

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TEACHERS OVERWHELMINGLY REJECT MUNICIPALIZATION PROJECT

Santiago HOY in Spanish No 483 2-8 Jun 86 pp 27-28

[Text] On Thursday 29 May, the uneasiness between teachers and students was obvious. On that afternoon, the public education teachers were completing a plebiscite called after what they had termed "a measure on which they had not been consulted," and over 40 secondary school students were detained on the streets of Santiago. In the windows of the No 1 Ninas Javier Carrera High School, one read: "Gaete, understand, the high school is not for sale"; and in front of many schools the young people were occupying the sidewalks, refusing to attend classes.

Through partial strikes, street marches, voting, and signs, the slogan all last week was a single one: "no" to municipalization.

The spark of the protest was ignited on Monday, 26 May, when the minister of education, Sergio Gaete, announced that during August the process of transferring the public basic and intermediate educational establishments to the municipalities would be concluded. Only those in the technical-professional and differential area would be left out of the plan. With the resolute tone of his speech at the Diego Portales Building, he made it clear that there would be no going back on his intention to "give a high priority status in Chilean education to the municipality and the community."

'Against Unity and Quality'

Nor was there any ambiguity in the responses from the association leaders. Osvaldo Verdugo, head of the Teachers Association, told HOY that the decision made by Gaete "is unilateral and, once again, disregards the majority sentiment among the nation's teachers."

On Tuesday, 27 May, Verdugo was detained (for 5 hours) at the exit of the Ministry of Education, when a group of leaders delivered a letter to the minister. In it, they expressed to him their repudiation of the municipal transfer, and reiterated that the process "suffers from deepseated technical errors attacking the unity and quality of the educational system and deteriorating the practice of the teaching profession."

According to the association's leaders, Gaete's announcement was a surprise, and "struck us like a bucket of cold water." Luis Cisternas, treasurer of the Teachers Association, reminded HOY that, in a meeting held with the minister in April, he had admitted that the municipalization would continue its progress, but said that, before making a final decision, he would contact the association's board of directors.

"The minister has not been candid with us," concluded Cisternas.

But the leader's astonishment was shortlived. On 28 and 29 May, nearly 16,000 public education teachers (there are 20,000 in the country) participated in a plebiscite called by the association. Option "A" backed the government's decision, because "it means greater participation for the teachers, an increase in the social benefits for teachers is obtained, and there is a substantial improvement in the quality of education."

Option "B" rejected the measure, because it implies "greater work instability, and a progressive loss of pay: in short, a deterioration in the dignity of the teaching profession and a decline in the quality of Chilean education."

According to the counts procured, as of the close of this edition, the "no" from the teachers was categorical.

A total of 15,860 teachers from all over the country voted. In favor of the municipal transfer were 178 (1.12 percent), and opposed, 15,587 (98.27 percent); and there were 40 blank votes and 55 null ones. In Santiago, 7,523 persons voted: favoring "yes" to municipalization, 138; for "no," 7,298; and there were 54 blank and 33 null votes.

Osvaldo Verdugo remarked that the plebiscite must become "a mechanism for permanent backing of our commitment to protect the interests of the teaching profession"; adding: "If the teachers are responsibly inclined toward a stoppage of activites, the association will abide by that decision."

Nevertheless, Gaete's goal of completing "one of the government's major modernizations" is not just another promise. Last week, the transfer to the municipalities of several schools in the communities of San Miguel and La Granja had already been made. As Luis Cisternas a teacher at a San Miguel high school, told HOY, the teachers were given a letter (in five copies) signed by the ministerial secretary, Pilar Gutierrez. The text declared that, based on Decree 264, the position was left vacant and the employee had to sign it in order to be considered notified.

Patricia Soto, a teacher at the A-8 Amunategui High School, said that, if anyone refused to sign, the director of the educational establishment, with a witness, could replace his signature. She added: "A moral pressure is being exerted. There are colleagues who have been given a period of 48 hours to sign, and have been warned that, if they fail to do so, their contracts will also be cancelled and they would not be hired in the municipality subsequently."

The goal of "decentralizing" education and "increasing the citizens' participation" is actually nothing new. The municipalization process began 6 years ago, after the issuance of Decree Law 3,063, which approved the new municipal income. Later, the Ministry of Education was authorized to turn over the administration of the technical-professional educational establishments to institutions of the public sector or to private corporations.

At first, the transfer was rapid and massive but (in early 1982) it was announced that the process would be halted for lack of funds. By then, 5,724 schools had already been transferred, representing nearly 85 percent of all the educational establishments in the public sector.

The board of directors of the Chilean Educators Professional Association (AGECH), in a public statement, gave a reminder that, in February, it had warned of the imminent threat of total privatization of education. The board reiterated its rejection for the recent announced measure, and accused Minister Gaete of assuming a "pig-headed position." It also noted that he "has turned a deaf ear to the outcry from the teachers, and refuses to see the disaster that the transfers represent for education."

According to the AGECH leaders, if Minister Gaete does not take the association's view into account only a strike is fitting as a last measure."

According to the official announcements, the ministry's plan now appears to have been devised. The deadline period is 3 months.

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CHILE

PALMA DEFINES YOUTH ROLE IN DEFENSE OF DEMOCRACY

Santiago HOY in Spanish No 463 2-8 Jun 86 pp 9-10

[Interview with Christian Democratic Youth head Andres Palma Irarrazabal, by Alejandro Guillier; date and location not specified]

[Text] "They claim that I am a threat to the state; it isn't true. I only want democracy for Chile and spaces for the youth's participation." This is the defense of the head of the Christian Democratic Youth organization, Andres Palma Irarrazabal (aged 30, married, a commercial engineer) against the sentence facing him of 541 days in jail, which has been remitted.

He asserts that the verdict was political. And although the justice system found him guilty of calling for a stoppage of activities, promoting disorders, and inciting to subversion, Andres Palma is not intimidated. He maintains: "It is the price that one has to be ready to pay when one is struggling for democracy."

He says that he devotes his time to his three children and to politics. And he has a great deal to think about. He claims that the styles of engaging in politics must be revamped. He told HOY: "The youth must be offered their own spaces for participation. We must also dream of the democratic Chile of the future, and that task has already begun."

And he discussed those political styles and his dreams for the country and its youth.

[Question] How do you view the Chilean youth of today?

[Answer] We youth and adults are half crazy and half sane. We must be half crazy to survive under this dictatorship, and we need to be half sane in order to resist and think of something better. How can one fail to be half crazy? Towns raided, universities with intervention, cities occupied militarily, kidnapping, exile and death are part of our everyday life. To order all that, one must be half crazy, and to put up with it, too.

[Question] Can the youth do anything to overcome that collective insanity?

[Answer] Many things, because the youth are the sanest ones in the country. They have hopes and alternate proposals. They have developed solidarity in the school, the university and the town. They also express themselves in the theater and in music, with hopes that everything will change. And they are succeeding in this.

[Question] And what do the youth want?

[Answer] They demand their own space for developing: from a physical space in the home to the neighborhood, the school, or the job; a place where they can say what they think and do new things. And this is incompatible with a dictatorship that only knows how to impose its views. The youth want order and democracy. We are experiencing the negation of order, because the raids, the curfew, the mass arrests, the kidnappings, and the exile are chaos. Order, on the other hand, respects each person's space and allows the youth to express itself.

[Question] How can the youth proceed to win this space?

[Answer] The first task is to disobey and rebel; not to accept the impositions; then to create spaces in the home, the town, and the university. And when the youth participate in social and political organizations, they are capable of shouting publicly: "We want our space!", then they will attain the goal. This is why the CONFECH [Confederation of Chilean Students] congress was held; this is why groups are formed; this is why the youth meet with or without permission. Everything must be aimed at reaching agreement with other youth so as to work together for the democratization of Chile.

[Question] And what kind of society do the youth want?

[Answer] The youth do not want a country with a million television sets, or a car for every seven persons. They only want to dream of the elimination of poverty, injustice, and violence, and to fulfill these aspirations. Happines does not lie in possessing. but in being a person.

[Question] Has the harsh experience of recent years inhibited the youth's desire to make social and political changes?

[Answer] No, the youth are still dreaming of the revolution with freedom. And I believe that we are closer to that goal now. The injustice and the need for change are so great that many more are in favor of major transformations. But there are priorities. The first task is to recover democracy, so as to have more space and to give an impetus to those major changes.

[Question] Why is it so hard for the youth to reach agreement?

[Answer] Because among us we have not completely understood what is going on in Chile or what we ourselves desire. But there has been progress, such as the youth agreement board, which 11 political youth organizations have achieved.

[Question] There has been criticism because youth with such different ideas are making agreements. Are they trying to deal with a single situation united, or is it possible to expect real, long-term commitments of all the political youth?

[Answer] This is a process. First, we have realized that we face the same problems and limitations. We had no space in the university, in the school, and on the job. We all wanted freedom. Then, we understood that, without democracy, there would not be that space of our own. And, in countless private dialogues, we discovered that we interpreted democracy in a very similar manner: as an increasing process of participation and of opening spaces for creating. I think that we all perceive the future democracy in a similar way. The differences that still exist relate to the methods for achieving it.

[Question] How do the youth view the present generation of politicians? Is a renewal necessary?

[Answer] Many blame the political leaders for the obstacles to opposition unity, without realizing that most of the time the difficulties exist in the social bases per se. The same prejudices that existed in 1973 persist among many. Furthermore, the majority of party heads were not such in 1973. However,I consider it necessary to revamp the styles of engaging in politics. The leaders must go to the towns, to the rural areas, to the mines in the north, and hold dialogue with the people. Then, they should introduce a prophetic style of engaging in politics: denouncing the injustices without regard for the price, and offering alternatives; talking about the new time that is coming.

[Question] Do you think that Chile needs a leader?

[Answer] I wonder: is there anyone capable of offering the unity that the country requires? Or will it be unity that will produce the leader? History has shown examples of both. Meanwhile, the essential thing is to work for unity.

[Question] And how do you view the Armed Forces in this 13-year history?

[Answer] As increasingly more fearful and isolated. They see terrorists everywhere. To them, a youth, a worker, or a woman walking along the street is a potential terrorist. And they continue to impose their aggression on us. They are divorced from the civilian society.

[Question] What should be done with them?

[Answer] Integrate them into civilian society. They have their own schools, polytechnical institutes, hospitals, justice system, and even towns. The officers enter an armed institution as adolescents without knowledge of the life, and assume a commitment forever. And, since they live apart from the civilians, they end up believing that, because the latter are different, they are a threat.

[Question] How can the call to unity be made to them if they seem deaf to the civilian proposals?

[Answer] They may be isolated, but they are not stupid. If they rebelled against their commander in chief in 1973, it was because someone made a proposal to them. That proved that they think and deliberate. They may hold dialogue with civilians when they realize that the polarization could destroy not only the country, but themselves as well. To do this, they must be shown with a social mobilization that General Pinochet's regime is exhausted and is a threat to everyone.

[Question] When the present situation has been surmounted, what do the democratic political youth organizations offer to the youth?

[Answer] We offer them a place in the task of creating space for participation. True happiness lies in sharing what there is with others. That is why we tell the youth: Unite with us in the task of building a society of participation. And we stress to them that this task began yesterday.

[Question] The "Demand of Chile" prepared by the Civil Assembly included some aspirations of the youth. Are you satisfied?

[Answer] The demand for "democracy now" is one of all Chileans. And we feel that we have been spoken for in this general aspiration that inspires the document. But we know that it is not sufficient. It will be the task of the democratic society that replaces the authoritarian regime to create all these spaces that the youth desire. That task will be permanent, because democracy is improvable. Nevertheless, I stress: It is possible and necessary to start building that democracy right now.

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CHILE

WEEKLY REVIEWS MILITARY PURCHASES, SUPPLIERS

Santiago ANALISIS in Spanish 27 May-2 Jun 86 pp 21-24

[Article by Pamela Jiles: "Who Is Selling the Weapons Aimed at Chileans?"]

[Text] While the Chilean Army, Navy, and Air Force high commands were meeting in Lima with their Peruvian counterparts to study methods for cutting defense spending, in Chile we learned about arms purchases involving millions made from Brazil and Spain, which would increase the already doubled supply of weapons in our country. Combined Army, National Guard, and CNI [National Intelligence Center] personnel "discovered" an enormous "extremist" arsenal, noteworthy in which were many American machine guns such as the Army of the power to the north uses; and an Argentine congressman charged that there was a secret defense pact between Chile, Paraguay, and South Africa. Previously, Gen Santiago Sinclair (in an unprecedented move) had declined an invitation tendered by the Pentagon, in his capacity as vice commander in chief of the Chilean Army.

In one way or another, all these events are related to the militarization of the national scene and the Pinochet regime's arms policy.

No concrete results were learned concerning the meeting of the high commands in Lima, from the standpoint of arms limitation. Rather, it appeared to be a meeting inspired by Chile's efforts for rapprochement with Peru to reduce its international isolation. Moreover, the Chilean ambassador, Alfredo Canales, described the debates of the United Nations Disarmament Commission as "endless and repetitious" at that very same time.

The Chilean Foreign Ministry vociferously denied the millions worth of weapons purchases from Brazil and Spain, claiming that this waas an "imaginary, false report with no reliability." Nevertheless, the general director of weapons and ordnance of the Spanish Defense Ministry, Gen Andres Jimenez, admitted the sale, remarking that it was due "to long-standing commitments." A high-ranking official in the Spanish administration argued: "If we don't sell certain military equipment to countries like Chile, there will be some other country that will do so." The Spanish press maintained that this country sold Chile military trucks, tank trucks with hoses to break up demonstrations, smoke bombs, ammunition, and short-barreled weapons last year; as well as the license and components for assembling 21 C-101 airplanes, priced at $100 million, which can be used as training equipment or for ground attack to hit any target. These "Halcon" planes, as the C-101's are called in Chile, have been designed for counterinsurgent combat.

In Brazil, the Sao Paulo newspaper FOLHA noted negotiations between the Chilean Government and that country's weapons industry, involving billions of dollars. The contract (to be closed in 1986) reportedly includes heavy tanks, multiple missile launchers, and both training aircraft and aircraft for antiguerrilla operations. All these weapons are useful for internal repression. According to the Brazilian newspaper, General Pinochet is personally interested in completing this purchase. But a group of Brazilian congressmen has already announced its intention of hampering the sale of arms to Pinochet (ANALISIS No 143).

General Sinclair's refusal to travel to the United States should be interpreted in the context of the deteriorated military relations between Chile and the United States, despite Ronald Reagan's efforts to restore these ties curtailed by the U.S. Congress.

Uncle Sam's Monopoly

Up until 1973, the United States had been the Chilean weapons shopping center. After World War II, a Pan-American military sistem had been set up wherein the American channels of influence over the armed forces of all of Latin America were created. The United States was seeking to establish a hemispheric security system which would guarantee the security of "its" continent, from the standpoint of its own interests. The Latin American countries were an easy prey for those intentions, and quickly offered their backing (almost without exception), in return for which weapons would be send to them. This produced the Inter-American Reciprocal Assistance Treaty (TIAR), signed in Rio de Janeiro during 1947, which lent the "region's security" an international legal context; and, later, the Charter of the Organization of American States, in 1948, which put the finishing touch on American influence over Latin American military decisions.

The figures on American military aid to Chile during the period 1950-78 are some of the largest, in comparison with those for the other nations of the region. The researcher from the Latin American School of Social Sciences (FLACSO), Carlos Portales, comments: "During that period, Chile received over $313 million, representing 12.8 percent of the total military aid programs for Latin America. Chile ranked second among the continent's recipient countries, exceeded only by Brazil. During the same period, 6,883 Chilean military men were trained under United States auspices, and only Brazil, Peru, and Colombia had more military students."

The Military Assistance Program (PAM) and, later, the Program for Military Sales Abroad were the two mechanisms for arms supplying that the United States used to spread its military influence in Latin America. During a first phase, weapons were sent for external defense, and, subsequently, arms, training, and antisubversive equipment were provided: The "communist threat" was the regional enemy that the Americans were attempting to contain.

In the publication "Defense and Disarmament," the researcher Cristian Gazmuri remarks: "When the coup d'etat of 1973 occurred, the Chilean Armed Forces were, based on Latin American averages, large in numbers of men but weak in equipment and weapons. Most of the latter were old or obsolete and the 'weapons systems,' when they existed, were rudimentary. This was so mainly because of the lack of a budget and the poor distribution of the existing one. The fact is that the Chilean Armed Forces were comprised of about 60,000 well disciplined and poorly armed men, without considering the National Guard Corps, which was then attached to the Interior Ministry and had about 28,000 men equipped with light weapons."

After the Coup

This perfect game, wherein the United States was selling its cast-off weapons to Latin America, determined balances, assigned equipment, and maintained a "regional equilibrium," through the non-introduction of sophisticated or modern weapons for the defense of the area's nations, declined at the end of the 1960's. The arms sellers had proliferated in the world, and international relations were embarking on a phase of easing of political tensions. Carlos Portales explains: "The proliferation of countries producing conventional weapons (after the economic recovery of Western Europe) has been translated into an increase in suppliers to an international market wherein the political restrictions of the bipolar world on arms trading are beginning to yield."

Thus, the United States monopoly on arms sales to Latin America has been broken and the Latin Americans have opened themselves to the international market, even the Soviet one. In this context, there occurred the coup in Chile, one of the results of which, for the subject of concern to us, was that the armed institutions' equipment requirements have had direct repercussions on the appropriation of state funds, owing to the equivalence of the military command with the political one.

Latin America's military relations with Western Europe began to be reflected in arms trading and the production of weapons "under a license." The leading European suppliers are France, Italy, and Great Britain, and, recently, Spain has been added. They have displaced the United States. In addition, Brazil, Argentina, Chile, and Peru have implemented plans for producing weapons with European licenses.

In the case of Chile, although the military relationship between Chile and the United States has never been completely broken, the diversification of its arms suppliers followed the trend in Latin America, and subsequently even became more marked owing to the restrictions imposed by the U.S. Congress and reinforced by the Carter administration.

During Pinochet's first years, the Americans sent arms to Chile (F 5-E airplanes), but in December 1974, Senator Edward Kennedy succeeded in setting a limit of $25 million on arms sales to the military regime; although this restriction did not apply to cash sales. In July 1976, Congress passed another Kennedy amendment cutting off all military aid to Chile and limited economic assistance.

The military links decreased even more in November 1979, because of Pinochet's refusal to extradite the Chilean officials accused of assassinating Orlando Letelier and Ronnie Moffit in Washington. The number of military advisers was reduced, a limit was set on the delivery of spare parts and ammunition, and the Chilean Navy was isolated from Operation Unitas.

Ronald Reagan has tried, using various means, to reestablish the military ties with Pinochet: He resumed Chile's participation in Unitas, and achieved the repeal of the Kennedy amendment if progress could be proven in the country's human rights situation. After nearly 5 years, that proof has proven impossible, as is obvious.

Carlos Portales describes thusly the status of diversification in the channels for arms supplies to Chile: "The recent study by the United States Disarmament and Arms Control Agency indicates that, during the period 1978-82, Chile imported $1.1 billion worth of weapons, its suppliers being France (45.4 percent), the United Kingdom (3.6 percent), the Federal Republic of Germany (2.7 percent), the United States (1.8 percent), and others (41.8 percent); attesting to the trend toward a decline in U.S. imports and France's rise as a source of supply."

This status of diversification becomes quite clear when a comparison is made between the value of arms imports made by Chile and the suppliers' share before and after this diversification occurred (see Table on page 22).

Who Is Selling Arms to Pinochet

During the last decade, the Chilean Armed Forces increased their personnel over twofold. The number of generals in the Army was also doubled. In addition, the national arms supply was at least doubled with respect to the previous period in the country's history.

In the case of the Air Force, since the 1960's it was traditional for Chile to purchase its aircraft from England (Hawker Hunter), and the rest of the equipment from the United States. Under the military regime, there were problems with the Hawker Hunter maintenance unions, which refused to carry out the maintenance on these planes. Chile sought other suppliers. It bought F 5 aircraft from the United States, and later Mirages from France. Then, high performance Casa airplanes and Hercules heavy carrier planes of American origin were imported. Training and naval patrol aircraft were purchased in Brazil. An agreement was reached with Spain for the Halcon to be assembled in Chile. The Pillan aircraft is being built in Chile through an agreement for transfer of American technology.

The Navy has traditionally had a British supply. That policy has continued under the military regime, with the purchase of submarines, frigates, and warships, among other equipment. A cruiser was purchased from Sweden (which arrived in Chile during 1972). Through a construction contract with France, light landing vessels (Batral) were assembled in Chile. Noteworthy is the close relationship that the Chilean Navy has maintained with Great Britain, facilitated during the past 7 years by the affinity with Margaret Thatcher's conservative government.

The Army has purchased heavy tanks in France, and both Sherman tanks (over 150 units which have over 40 years of use and were overhauled in Israel) and infantry weapons from Israel. The Army has also maintained a certain supply of American infantry weapons, and has purchased Belgian and Swedish equipment, in addition to the Cardoen amphibian carriers assembled in Chile with a Swedish license and some equipment purchased from Brazil.

Nevertheless, the mere accumulation of military equipment does not automatically have a positive effect on the country's defense capacity. Cristian Gazmuri notes: "The escalation in weapons, at first glance, appears spectacular. The comparison in defensive firing capacity between 1973 and 1982 could be one to two. However, despite the volume of arms purchased or manufactured, most of them are obsolete, if not overtly antiquated, even in the case of new weapons purchases such as the Mirages. In other instances, the arms bought are really decrepit, and one cannot understand, at least based on strictly military reasoning, why they were purchased. In the case of the MBT M-4 tanks bought from Israel which, with more or less modernization, have had 40 years of use, they are not qualified to be measured against any of their possible rivals." The specialist thinks that, generally, "technology for the Third World" has been purchased, which is rather ineffective in the event of a foreign war. He concludes that, "the purchaser or purchasers of some of these weapons may not have been thinking of a foreign war," which would explain the concentration of this equipment in the metropolitan area, "where its use to defend our sovereignty is nil, but it could quickly participate in other kinds of defense."

Researcher Augusto Varas deems it useful to make an analysis, branch by branch of the military: "The Army has basically purchased equipment for anti-insurgent use, apart from a few relatively modern units that could be used in a conventional theater of operations. They have a few tanks and defense missiles, but the rest consists of personnel transport vehicles, armored vehicles, reconnaissance cars and transport planes; actually, armament used for the occupation of territory per se rather than for a confrontation or an increase in the deterrent capacity of the land forces."

According to Varas, in the case of the Navy, "The surface fleet has been developed: destroyers and frigates; but the submarine fleet has been greatly neglected. And that is a discussion that is under way now within the Navy. It would seem that a country with such an extensive coast as the one we have in Chile needs more than two submarines to protect it." According to the researcher, these problems in the Navy's supply policies are due to that branch's difficulties in replacing its high command and modernizing the concepts of naval strategy.

Varas remarks: "The Air Force has had a more suitable policy." But he gives a reminder that the purchase of a group of Hawker Hunters in 1974 and of the F-5 E's in 1975 had been decided upon during the Popular Unity period. He adds: "Thereafter, the most significant purchase was the 16 Mirages which arrived between 1979 and 1980, and that of 12 British aircraft. The other purchases have also been along the line of raising the country's deterrent capacity."

Great Britain has sold small tanks and armored tanks for antiriot repression to the National Guard Corps. The Federal Republic of Germany and Japan have also sent personnel transport vehicles and anti-demonstration weapons (such as poison gas) come from the United States and Argentina (before Alfonsin).

Varas comments: "Although the weapons supply has doubled, the country's defense policy from 1973 onward has placed very little emphasis on weapons systems to increase the capacity to deter the enemy abroad; and it has been directed toward purchases of equipment and the expansion of personnel with a policy that is more police than military-oriented, militarizing the internal system rather than dissuading potential outside enemies."

This spectacular progress in the Chilean Armed Forces' weapons supply must also be weighed with the high cost that it has for the country's economy. The military sector's spending is unproductive, and these funds have been diverted from the development of various areas, such as education, health, or housing for Chileans. And from a political standpoint, it represents a militarization of the society and an intensification of the Armed Forces' role of interfering in domestic policy.

The 'Reasons' for the Bloody Trade

The countries selling arms to Pinochet are democratic; some are socialist; and most of them have a tradition of repudiating the Chilean dictatorship. Augusto Varas observes: "In the case of France and Spain, the state has very great decision-making power with regard to companies producing and exporting weapons. I would say that the United States has had a far more consistent policy from 1976 until the present (which Reagan has been unable to reverse) of not selling arms to Chile."

Many European arms suppliers use the argument of "the reason of state," and, although they condemn the Pinochet regime politically, they sell it weapons based on what they consider a strategic imperative: to develop their weapons industry and to amortize costs for their self-sufficiency, as in the case of France and Spain.

Great Britain is concerned about maintaining its geopolitical interests in this part of the world, and they view in Chile a potential ally in the conflict with Argentina. In Brazil, the entire military manufactures program is being revised, but there persists the inertia from the commitments assumed before the advent of democracy. According to the experts, Israel sells weapons to Pinochet because it holds the theory of "pariah states," whereby bonds should be intensified with countries such as South Korea, Taiwan, Paraguay, and Chile which, with itself, would be the ones repudiated by the international community.

Thus, there occurs the paradox that it is democratic countries and, in some instances socialist nations, which have sent arms to the military regime for the internal repression that it is continuing. And they have not only sold Pinochet counter-insurgent weapons, useful to neutralize armed groups, but also various equipment for the so-called "anti-riot repression," in other words, to attack the unarmed civilian population in peaceful demonstrations.

Chilean Weapons Imports According to Supplier Country: 1964-73 and 1976-80
(in millions of current dollars)

	1964-73		1976-80	
Supplier country	Value	Percentage	Value	Percentage
U.S.	89	56.7	110	17.6
France	9	5.7	170	27.2
United Kingdom	21	13.4	50	8.0
Canada	1	0.6	-	-
FRG	1	0.6	30	4.8
Sweden	-	-	5	0.8
Others *	36	22.9	260	41.6
Total:	157	100.0	600 **	100.0

* During the first period it includes primarily Denmark, Sweden, and Switzerland; during the second, Brazil, Spain, Israel, and others.

** The lesser value of the total for the addends appears in the source, and is due to the fact that these are rough approximations made independently.

Source: World Military Expenditures and Arms Trade: 1963-73, US ACDA
World Military Expenditures and Arms Transfers: 1971-80, US ACDA
SIPRI Yearbooks

Chile's Leading Arms Purchases Between 1973 and 1983 (year of arrival given)

Year	Army	Navy	Air Force
1974	10 SA 330 PUMA (19)	2 Allen M. Summer destroyers (20) 1 modified Leander type frigate	6 FG 9 Hawker Hunter aircraft 8 T-37 training aircraft

Year	Army	Navy	Air Force
1975	Mamba type antitank missiles, no info on number 105 mm artillery, no info on number (21)	1 modified Leander type frigate 1 Oberon type submarine	10 Neiva N 621 Universal 1 airplane (training plane) 6 SA-315 (Lama or Gazelle) Aerospace helicopters 18 F 5 E supersonic fighter planes (continued receipt the next year) (22) 34 Cessna A-37 B airplanes (light attack planes) (continued receipt the next and possibly the following year Raytheon AA Sidewinder AIM-9J missiles
1976	3 EMB 110 Bandeirante (light transport)	1 Oberon type submarine	Hughes AGM-65A Maverick ASM? no info on number Raytheon AA Sidewinder AIM-9J missiles, no info on number
1977	7 155 mm MK F3 self-propelled guns of French origin (24) 20 mm AA artillery, no info on number 47 AMX 13 light tanks of French origin (25)	6 EMB-111 Bandeirante (patrol planes) 21 Neiva T.25 Universal Mk 2 (training plane)	150 A 11 ASM 150 A 12 ASM 3 Douglas C-95 (transport plane) 2 C-130 H Hercules (this purchase is not certain) 2 Merlin 3-A light transport planes
1978	30 EE 9 Cascavel APC (armored reconnaissance cars) 6 CASA-AVIOCAR transport planes (general and paratrooper) (some arrived in 1979) Spanish origin	1 Fokker VFM patrol and transport	6 or more Havilland DH C-6 Twin Otter planes (transport) (26) 2 Merlin 3-A Over 100 Shafrir AAM
1979	No info	1 Reshef type missile launcher boat (ShSh M Gabriel) (27)	16 Mirage 50 fighter planes (some arrived the next year) (28)

Year	Army	Navy	Air Force
1980	No info	No info	No info
1981	21 AMX 30 MBT (29) tanks CARDOEN-MOWAG APC Piranha type with 4 and 6 wheels, no info on number (possibly 20) 50 APC "URUTU" EE-11 3 SA-330L PUMA helicopters	1 Reshef boat with ShSh M	1 Boeing 727 (jet transport for passengers and freight) 12 CASA-C-101 jet planes (30)
	150-200 Sherman M-4 tanks overhauled (105 mm gun) (31)	No info	No info
1982	MILAN antitank missiles, no info on number APC CARDOEN, no info on number CROTALE R440 SAM (33) (at least 6 batteries with 4 missiles each, possibly 12)	1 County type destroyer (32)	12 Hawker Hunter FGA 9 The first Pillan T-35 to complete a total of 100, most to be assembled in Chile (34) CASA C-101, no info (35) 3 Canberra PR-57 reconnaissance planes
1983	No info	1 oil tanker	Pillan T-35, no info on number CASA C-101, no info on number 1 Buffalo DH STOL medium transport

Source: "Defense and Disarmament - Latin America and the Caribbean," Vol 1, No 1, September-December 1985, a publication of the Defense and Disarmament Center, Santiago, Chile

2909
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WEEKLY REPORTS ON SHIPMENT OF UNRELIABLE CLUSTER BOMBS

Santiago CAUCE in Spanish 2-8 Jun 86 pp 41-42

[Article by Osvaldo Muray: "The Bank of Chile and 'Jenka' Victims of Wasp Bombs"]

[Text] It cannot be denied that the "Wasp" bombs (a copy of the cluster bombs) manufactured by Ferrimar are causing many casualties, although not among the Iraqi troops at which they are aimed, but rather among the manufacturers, and those who have had dealings with them, including two high-ranking Bank of Chile officials.

The mysterious disappearance of the Danish freighter "Jenka" is only another chapter in a by now long history of mishaps that Ferrimar has suffered since its executives had the bad idea of changing their line. Ferrimar is an old company in the metal working sector, which built items ranging from fishing boats to the gates of the enormous Colbun-Machicura dam.

However, dazzled by the enchanting shady business involving millions in which the world arms market is engaged, it acquired the plans for the cluster bomb made by Cardoen and two very influential associates: the director of FAMAE [Army Ordnance] and Gen (ret) Manuel Contreras Sepulveda.

Nevertheless, neither the plans (which Cardoen claims were stolen from it by a trusted associate) nor the partners have succeeded in making the "Wasps" work, and both their potential purchaser (Iran) and their carrier have lost patience. The result of this situation has been the mysterious disappearance of the "Jenka" after its small crew had remained 120 days in Valparaiso, waiting for a shipment of "Wasps" that never arrived.

The Missing Plans

About a year ago, the Cardoen engineers had to review the plans for the cluster bomb that they make for the Iraqi Government and, to their surprise, they found them missing. After a brief investigation, the company concluded that the perpetrator of the plans' disappearance had been the international marketing manager, Daniel Prieto Vial, who emigrated to Ferrimar.

Shortly thereafter, Ferrimar began making a bomb oddly similar to that of Cardoen and, as was to have been expected (a source told CAUCE), that bomb was offered to the government of Iran, which is fighting a long, bloody war with Iraq.

When the firm was equipped to manufacture the bomb, a Spanish citizen arrived in Chile (in early January of this year), claiming to be an international arms dealer interested in purchasing a large shipment of "Wasps."

Apart from his intentions, the Spaniard was carrying a letter of credit for the sum of $12 million in Ferrimar's favor. Officials from the company went with that letter of credit (a commitment for purchase backed by a deposit in the aforementioned amount) to the Bank of Chile. The bank agreed to grant overdrafts to Ferrimar based on the letter of credit.

But, as an astrologist has said, the matter had a bad aspect and the astral influences were negative for Ferrimar; hence, the deal started out on the wrong foot.

Bombs in Pudahuel

The first "Wasps" left for Pudahuel at the end of March, on a British charter plane which carried 120 bombs, weighing 28 tons. The shipment had been consigned to Lagos, Nigeria. A source told CAUCE that the "Wasps" were later shipped to Pakistan, and from there to Iran, in what is called a triangular operation. A second shipment was made on 8 April using the same route and the same airplane.

However, three other shipments (there were five in all) were never made.

The source said that, apparently, the first bombs taken to Iran by air did not work. and hence the client complained, and the operation was stopped.

CAUCE was told that bombs are not rocks that are thrown from above. They must be launched from an airplane which "drops them," and the bomb begins to fly by itself until it reaches the target, where it explodes in the air releasing hundreds of small bombs (which also fly), and the latter spread death over an enormous radius of action.

It would appear that the Ferrimar "Wasps" refused to fly and fell like rocks. That prevents the submunition from exploding. It is like bombing a target with rocks.

The 'Jenka'

Before the first bombs were shipped by plane, Ferrimar had contracted the services of the Danish firm, H. C. Grube, domiciled at 5960 Prinsensgade, 6-box-25, Marstal, Denmark, which sent to Chile its freighter, "Jenka," under the command of Capt Lars Toegersen and a small five-man crew. The "Jenka" is a ship built according to the United Nations' strict specifications for this type of vessel used to carry explosives. It has a length of 50 meters, and a capacity for nearly 900 tons of cargo. The "Jenka" was due to leave Chile with 450 tons of "Wasp" bombs.

For a ship to be able to set sail in search of its contracted cargo, the contractor (Ferrimar) would have to pay the shipowner (H. C. Grube) 40 percent of the estimated transportation cost. In the case of the "Jenka," this would have to be reckoned as $4,000 per day of sailing. The same amount has to be paid for every day that the ship is idle in port.

The "Jenka" arrived in Valparaiso in early February and, since the bombs were not ready, it had to remain idle, waiting for the cargo. However, the clients in Iran started becoming nervous, and hence Ferrimar sent the two air shipments on the British charter plane. The source claimed that the bombs had never been tested from an airplane in Chile.

The Bank of Chile

To finance all this movement and the maintenance costs of the "Jenka," stranded in Valparaiso, and consuming $4,000 per day (not counting permits, taxes, meals for the crew, water, fuel, etc.), Ferrimar took the credit procured at the Bank of Chile and paid its bills with checks charged to the aforementioned bank.

But the fateful astral influences complicated things. When the Ferrimar checks arrived for collection, the bank noted that Ferrimar was drawing from the account of a letter of credit which was only a promise of payment, when the contract was fulfilled. Since the bombs were not yet ready, the letter of credit was a dead letter. The Bank of Chile refused to pay for the checks, and the latter were protested.

The sum amounted to hundreds of millions of pesos.

Bombs To Iran?

The mishaps caused by the "Wasps" that refuse to fly had not ended, however. Since it had been stated publicly (CAUCE No 70) that the bombs were for Iran, the Chilean Government began receiving some insinuations and questions from foreign governments, including the United States (a source assured CAUCE). As is public knowledge, the Reagan government has no sympathy for the regime of the Ayatollah Khomeini, who kept the world in a state of tension with the kidnapping of many American citizens and diplomats.

Hence (apparently), the government informed Ferrimar of how unfeasible it was to sell bombs to the Iranians, ideological enemies of the Chilean Government, and also somewhat more than ideological enemies of the U.S. Government. And, since the relations with the latter are not at their best point, the "Wasp" bombs, at best, will never take off from their Chilean hive.

Other 'Victims'

The list of "victims" of these bombs continues to lengthen. The shipping agency, A. J. Broom, of Valparaiso, was responsible for the care of the "Jenka" during its stay in port. For this reason, A. J. Broom contracted for the ship's supplies during its 4 months of forced landfall.

The escape of the "Jenka," between 21 and 22 May, caused A. J. Broom to incur a penalty of 10,000 gold pesos, equivalent to 4.677 million pesos, imposed by the maritime authority. When this is added to the $30,000 for food and fuel, the "Wasp" bombs are causing many casualties, without ever having been used. The escape of the "Jenka" is explained as a logical consequence of the expiration of the 40 percent guarantee.

The last victim of the bombs (CAUCE was told) is Daniel Prieto Vial himself, who, using the pseudonym of Alejandro Valdes, wrote an article lauding the "Wasps" in the INTERNATIONAL DEFENSE REVIEW, published in Switzerland. The author went overboard with his praise but the Iranians denied it, and the magazine removed its correspondent in Chile.

Iraqi Complaint

When CAUCE is in circulation, the vice prime minister of Iraq, Taha Yassin Ramadhan, is due to be in Chile; he traveled from his country to Brazil to close a multimillion contract for Brazilian weapons.

The Iraqi official (CAUCE was informed) will travel from Brasilia to Santiago to meet with Chilean Government officials, to whom he will express his country's uneasiness over the sale of bombs to Iran.

Iraq has diplomatic relations with Chile, but this does not hold true of Iran, a country which, because it is in the orbit of nations allied with the Soviet Union, lacks the sympathy of the military regime.

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WORKERS AT NUCLEAR PLANT PLEDGE INCREASE IN PRODUCTIVITY

Havana GRANMA in Spanish 25 Apr 86 p 3

[Excerpt] Cienfuegos--Julio Trujillo Aguero, director of ECOI 6, which the Nuclear Power Plant (CEN) is building here, delivered the commitments of the party members working on this project to Humberto Miguel Fernandez, first secretary of the party in this province. The workers are making these commitments in response to the exhortations of Commander in Chief Fidel Castro. Both Trujillo and Miguel are members of the Party Central Committee.

The document was read during a ceremony attended by Angel Moreno Bofil and Pedro Ross Leal, both members of the Central Committee, and by the members of the party and the Union of Young Communists (UJC) who are in the Construction Enterprises and those investing in the project.

This commitment states that its goals are to raise production, productivity, and efficiency in each task, to increase labor discipline and the conservation of resources, and to optimize all activities, in addition to moving a month ahead in fulfilling the technical-economic plan.

Moreover, on the same date, the workers expect to fulfill the goal for the principal economic efficiency indicators, and to meet the 76-million-peso target of the ECOI 6 1986 Plan.

Another important objective of the party members in the CEN is not to use more than the 12,000 workers called for in the plan in carrying out this project.

Pedro Ross gave a speech in which he stated that the CEN should become a model project to be emulated by all others in the country, and indicated that this will consolidate and enhance the prestige of Cuban construction workers.

Each reactor, he said, represents a savings of some 600,000 tons of petroleum, which is what the country hopes to produce in 1 year.

Humberto Miguel spoke at the end of the event, summing up all the difficulties and deficiencies that the CEN faces. He expressed his confidence in all the workers on this historic project.

8926
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STORES EQUIPPED WITH PRECISION SCALES TO BUY COINS, JEWELRY

Havana GRANMA in Spanish 25 Apr 86 p 3

[Article by Fernando Davalos]

[Text] Specialized jewelry equipment has been purchased by the National Bank of Cuba (BNC) to supply to stores that will be opened throughout the provinces, and to those already open. The purpose of the instruments is to ensure the accuracy of purchases from the public involving precious metals and stones, silver objects, and gold and silver coins from Cuba as well as other countries.

The National Minting Enterprise of the BNC reported that the stores in Havana (Joyeria Quevedo, at Obispo and Compostela), Las Tunas (La Joya, at 332 Francisco Varona), Holguin (La Esmeralda, 144 Libertad), Camaguey (La Perla, 463 Republica), Santiago de Cuba (La Esmeralda, 306 Aguilera), Sancti Spiritus (El Digital, 26 Independencia), and Villa Clara (El Zafiro, 12 Bonifacio Martinez in Santa Clara), are already operating.

Digital scales, special silversmith's tweezers, vials of water for assaying, touchstones, gold-pointed stars for testing, magnifying glasses, calibrators, hard graphite, filters for emeralds, and saws have been imported for these establishments.

Expert jewelers will operate these precision instruments, which will be used to determine the precise precious metal content of the object in question for payment purposes. In addition, payment will be given for the jewelry work, which is an intrinsic part of these items.

At a press conference Guillermo Triana, director of that enterprise, explained that the other stores in the country are working on the final details before opening.

The prices of gold vary according to the number of carats, from 10.55 pesos per gram for 22 carats, to 4.80 pesos for 10 carat gold. Platinum will sell for 11.90 pesos per gram, and silver for 0.18 pesos per gram.

Cuban silver coins will be purchased for 5 times their face value. Thus, for example, a 10-centavo "realito" will sell for 50 centavos. Silver coins from the United States will also be paid for at a ratio of 5 to 1.

These prices, which are related to the levels of the international market, are aimed at stimulating sales by the public in the interest of recovering these metals for the benefit of the national economy.

The BNC intends to recover no less than 15 tons of silver from the extractive processes carried out by the Cuban Minting Enterprise on photosensitive materials, as well as purchases from the public in these specialized stores, from the Costume Jewelry and Lamp Enterprise of the Ministry of Light Industry (MINIL), and from purchases from the public through the national banking network.

8926
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CUBA

ALLEGED BOOK BY BOFILL TRACED BY WRITER

Havana EL CAIMAN BARBUDO in Spanish May 86 pp 2-5

[Article by Jose Lorenzo Fuentes; first paragraph is introduction]

[Text] Some have called "the plagiarism of the century." Others point to it as another attempt by elements hostile to the revolution to create "prestigious" literary figures who, the enemy says, are jailed and persecuted in our country just because they dissent politically and ideologically. One of the most hackneyed diversionist ploys. The fact is that from the instant that Jose Lorenzo Fuentes, the well-known Cuban narrator, made his denunciation public, there has been an ongoing campaign of slander to create a smoke screen between the public and the truth. The ultimate purpose of this, as if it were achievable, is to cover up a costly error that bespeaks both an unscrupulous manipulation of the people's cultural values and a complete lack of professionalism on the part of the intelligence services that are aiding the counterrevolution wherever it sets up shop. The shrillest voice in the campaign is that of Carlos Alberto Montaner, a Cuban-born ex-terrorist who has close ties to the Spanish publishing house Playor, the same one that helped to consummate the plagiarism and whose anthology of "contemporary Cuban writers" provides sufficient evidence that when the CIA does not have literate lackeys available, it invents them. Jose Lorenzo Fuentes furnished our editors with proof of the authorship of the work. The international court that will judge the facts cannot but bow to the evidence. The Publishers

One ordinary day in 1968, which turned out to be quite different for me, as I was looking at a photograph of Commander Ernesto Guevara, I soon began thinking about a subject that can be expressed in one word, a word that sounds too solemn but that I find to be the only appropriate one: immortality. I kept thinking about the possibility that a man, thanks to his self-sacrifice, the wealth of examples he provides or the weight of his ideas, could transcend time and live on among us, with all of his strength and greatness, even after he died. "Che" was one of those men, and I had had the enormous privilege of meeting him during the battle of Santa Clara, the last great battle against the Batista dictatorship, and of conversing with him later on many occasions under the gleam of his magnificent eyes. And as often happens to those who are slaves to the vice of literary creation, I drifted unconsciously into the realm of fantasy. Allowing oneself to be photographed, I said to myself, is another way of attaining immortality. There were "Che's" eyes on the photographic paper, once again proving me right. And with another leap of the imagination I saw Tranquilino, the main character in a new novel of mine, an obscure artisan in a small, forgotten town, whose entire life is slow frustration, and who in old age realizes that he has exhausted all of the possibilities of his craft and discovers, to his dismay, that it will no longer be possible for him to construct a work capable of enshrining his name and his talent.

As the reader will have already imagined, Tranquilino of course has himself photographed as soon as a photographer arrives in the tiny town. Obsessed with this idea, I began to write my novel "The Paper Eyes," which I left aside on several occasions for months and years and which I finally finished on 15 September 1974. It is a short novel of some 100 pages, enough to say breathlessly what I wanted. The clipped together sheaf of papers was placed in a drawer no sooner had the keys of my typewriter fallen silent, so that it could age like wine in wax-sealed casks, so that I could forget even its plot and read it later with a pitilessly critical eye.

It did not age as long in the drawer as I had hoped. Some months later, going back on my initial decision, I made two copies of the novel. Ricardo Bofill Pages was visiting my home quite often at the time. Although he was not a writer or an expert on the subject, we talked about literary matters. He often expressed an interest in some of the things that I had been writing at the time, and finally one day in 1975 I lent him the carbon copy of "The Paper Eyes," keeping the original for submission to a Cuban publisher. Five months later, an embarrassed Bofill told me that the copy had gotten lost. Since I have always thought that the sole purpose of words is and must be to uphold the truth, I believed that he was not deceiving me and that it was impossible, because it was unimaginable, that he would use the text for unscrupulous purposes.

The incident was buried in oblivion, and I eventually decided to try my luck with the original of "The Paper Eyes." I submitted it to Letras Cubanas publishing, which turned it down because "it sounds like it was written by Garcia Marquez." The decision did not sit well with me, and to console myself I spent days thinking about how Mario Vargas Llosa's "The City and the Dogs," among other novels, had initially been rejected. To further console myself I even remembered Victor Hugo, who proclaimed when Stendhal died: "This fellow never knew what writing was." But to calm myself with these distinguished examples was really the consolation of fools. The important thing was to publish the book and to let the readers have the final word. I then began to entertain the idea of adding new characters into the novel and of submitting it again under a different title.

But the fickle finger of fate managed to weave its spell around what would become over time my most controversial novel. In 1979 I ran into Gabriel Garcia Marquez at the Riviera Hotel in Havana; we have been friends for almost 30 years. I told him about how my novel had been rejected, and Garcia Marquez started laughing.

"If it sounds like I had written it," he said jokingly, "it must be very well written. Give it to me so that I can publish it in my name."

I handed him the original, which he promised to read in his home in Mexico, and we continued our conversation in apparently different veins. Nevertheless, when we recalled that we had both been born in March of the same year, under the same sign of the zodiac, Garcia Marquez again told me smilingly in an obvious allusion to my book:

"I've been luckier than you because I switched to Taurus. Aries is the sign of loneliness."

Without time to ask him how he had accomplished this astrological feat, I bid Garcia Marquez farewell, also without suspecting at the time that he was becoming a witness to the scandalous plagiarism of my novel.

The Novel Becomes Transformed

In 1980 the characters that I wanted to incorporate into the original text finally began to appear. One in particular stirred me deeply right away: Brigida, a woman who dreams of her country's history and, of course, of the men who loved her. When I finished the story, the rest turned out to be quite easy: structure the two narratives in the manner of Faulkner in "The Wild Palms," alternating chapters of each story until the conclusion. While I was writing the new sections, just as with the previous version of "The Paper Eyes," they were read by the critical eyes of three good friends: Pablo Armando Fernandez, Cesar Lopez and Manuel Diaz Martinez. Finally, after much polishing and touching up, I completed the work under the title of "Brigida Was Able to Dream."

I was going to submit it again for publication in Cuba when two famous Ecuadorean writers, Pedro Jorge Vera and Eugenia Viteri, came to Havana in 1982. The two read my novel with excessive enthusiasm and asked me if they could take it back to Quito. It was the only neatly typed copy I owned, but who can say no to two close friends. Within a month I had received a response: the Ecuadorean publishing house El Conejo had decided to incorporate it into its schedule of publications and very promptly sent me the corresponding contract.

Poetic Justice

Pablo Armando Fernandez, who can converse with the same expressive magic that he conveys in his writings, speaks with almost obsessive frequency of poetic justice, which is as effective as or more so than the justice that man administers. His role in uncovering the plagiarism was truly an act of poetic justice, the work once again of happenstance. On a visit to Spain, where he was attending a writers congress, Pablo Armando chanced upon a book published under the signet of the Playor publishing house, entitled "Time Is the Devil" and signed by Ricardo Bofill. He began reading it and soon realized that he was familiar with the text. He kept on reading, half alarmed, half surprised, and at the end of the third page said to himself: "But this is Jose Lorenzo's novel." He bought it and showed it to me.

Indeed, the novel published by the Spanish publishing firm Playor was my novel "The Paper Eyes." It had not been changed in the slightest. Not a single word had been omitted, and not a single comma had been shifted from the spot where I had enthusiastically placed it. Only the title had been changed, and it in fact was taken from a remark, in the opposite word order, by one of the characters.

After learning of the plagiarism, I thought that it would not be difficult to prove. Every literary work contains simple traps that defend its author. The task merely involved tracking down these traps to find the irrefutable proof. But the proof was even more obvious than I had initially suspected. It was more than just the draft of the book, with its handwritten modifications that revealed all of the craft that its creator had put into it; it was not just the unimpeachable testimony of Gabriel Garcia Marquez, the winner of the Nobel prize for literature, who in March 1982 had published in the newspaper GRANMA an article entitled "Chronicle of My Death Foretold," in which he quoted a phrase from my novel, or the testimony of Pedro Jorge Vega, Eugenia Viteri, Cesar Lopez, Pablo Armando Fernandez and Manuel Diaz Martinez, writers of enormous prestige whose word no one doubts.

The evidence was, furthermore, irrefutable. The town in which the action takes place in the novel published by Playor, Mabujina, is an imaginary town, which I created just as William Faulkner created Yorknapatawpha or as Garcia Marquez created Macondo. This was easy to prove because in 1967, 19 years ago, I published in the National Union of Writers and Artists of Cuba a book entitled "The Seller of Days," in which two of the stories unfold in Mabujina. But there was still more. Certain characters in the novel, such as Dolores Gutierrez or Belen Ferreira, had not been chosen haphazardly; they bore the names of relatives of mine, as I have demonstrated by submitting the certifications of their respective birth records.

Meanwhile, I wondered: What will Bofill do now? What can he say to me? How will he explain this annoying matter? To dispel my doubts I decided to pay him a visit, accompanied by the poet Manuel Diaz Martinez, at his home in the Manana district in Guanabacoa. We arrived just as the first shadows of night were falling. Several curious neighbors got up from their armchairs in front of their television sets, their interest aroused by the two strangers who had suddenly shattered the local calm and who were being pursued by more than one barking mongrel. We were informed straightaway that Bofill had gone out for a walk, as he does every night, and that he might not be back until the wee hours of the morning. Glancing at each other, Diaz Martinez and I decided to wait for Bofill.

He returned 2 hours later. Having to call Bofill to account about the plagiarism was not pleasant for me, and even less so for him. He received us with obvious signs of nervousness. Before he sat down, we saw him walk back and forth, take a handkerchief out of his rear trouser pocket to wipe his forehead as if he were sweating profusely and approach the young woman who was with him to whisper something to her. When we began conversing and I showed him the book that Playor had put out, he looked surprised.

"How did you find out about it?" he asked me, as if that fact bothered him the most.

I explained it to him, while he asserted that it was all the result of a big mix-up, inasmuch as he had never authorized the book's publication nor signed a contract with the Spanish publishing house. I then pleaded with him, so as to forestall problems with the Ecuadorean publisher El Conejo, to write a letter to Mr Diego Cornejo, its managing director, because it was going to publish the book and would appreciate knowing the truth. "Of course," Bofill said. And he wrote the letter.

[Text of handwritten letter apparently signed by R. Bofill]

4 December 1985

Diego Cornejo
Managing Director
El Conejo Publishing
Quito, Ecuador

Dear Mr Conejo:

I am hereby informing you that for reasons totally beyond my control, inasmuch as I was in prison, a work entitled "Time Is the Devil" has been published. It belongs to the writer Jose Lorenzo Fuentes, who lent it to me under the title of "The Paper Eyes."

Sincerely yours,

R. Bofill

8743
CSO: 3248/481

INSPECTIONS SHOW ENERGY-SAVING TIPS GOING UNHEEDED

Havana GRANMA in Spanish 15 Apr 86 p 3

[Article by Joaquin Oramas]

[Text] In the past year the State Energy Inspection Office has issued more than 10,000 recommendations regarding deficiencies in the use of energy in production and service centers.

If these suggestions for the short, medium and long terms were implemented, from 250,000 to 300,000 tons of conventional fuel could be saved. According to the National Energy Commission, more than 40 percent of these ideas have not been properly heeded.

Among the organizations that pay the least attention to these measures are the sugar industry, the Local Organs of the People's Government, and the Agriculture Ministry, according to inspections carried out during the first quarter of this year.

It was also revealed that in the last quarter, state energy inspectors conducted 375 examinations of enterprises belonging to 17 agencies of the Central State Administration and Local Organs of the People's Government. They made more than 2,000 recommendations on the basis of those inspections.

Among the various methods of conservation are plugging leaks and other deficiencies in steam generation, and utilizing installed capacity.

The National Energy Commission will make the necessary contacts with the provincial party leadership and the energy conservation commissions in each province, so that steps can be taken to improve the adminstrations' attention to the suggestions made by the state energy inspectors. These recommendations are an effective means of making rational use of and reducing the consumption of electricity, fuels and lubricants.

8926
CSO: 3248/459

ENERGY INEFFICIENCIES IN MINBAS ENTERPRISES

Havana GRANMA in Spanish 25 Apr 86 p 1

[Article by Joaquin Oramas]

[Text] It can be said that the control and execution of measures to conserve energy and make rational use of it in unions and enterprises have not been given the devotion and importance they deserve.

This was pointed out at the 2nd Meeting of Areas of Energy Economy in Basic Industry, which will end today at the cadre school of the Ministry of Basic Industry (MINBAS) in our capital.

The central report discussed at the meeting asserts that because of the restrictions imposed on the allocation of energy, businesses have as a rule adopted measures to eliminate or reduce excess consumption, which actually falls into the category of waste.

It also expresses the need for each worker, technician or manager to monitor the use of fuels, electricity and lubricants, just as they monitor the fulfillment of the production plan, and to attribute equal importance to it. It adds that inspections of production and energy consumption should go hand in hand.

Another fundamental point refers to the fact that energy conservation is no longer a matter of eliminating waste--although where there is waste today it must be eradicated immediately and completely--but rather of applying technological advances, introducing scientific and technological innovations, and implementing them to increase efficiency, or establishing new processes that consume less energy.

A list of the enterprises and units of basic industry that have not met their percentage goals for recovering lubricants was released. Included on that list are establishments that spend large sums on those resources, which means to a great extent that products must be purchased with hard foreign currency.

Among these companies are the La Lisa Glass Enterprise, the Guantanamo Salt Company, the white paper plant of Jatibonico, the Benjamin Moreno Rubber

Enterprise, Electrical Industry Constructions, and Camaguey Construction and Assembly.

In addition, those attending the meeting discussed the implementation of the ideas contained in the papers presented at the 1st Energy Forum. It was noted that more aggressive action should be taken to put these measures into practice in basic industry as well as other sectors of our economy.

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CSO: 3248/459

CUBA

BRIEFS

MOVIE CASSETTES FOR RENT--The National Federation of Movie Clubs of Cuba, in conjunction with the cultural institutions under the jurisdiction of the Cuban Institute of Cinematographic Arts and Industry, will make available to video cassette player owners a wide variety of movies on video tape. These will include the most important films in world movie production. Cuban citizens interested in receiving this service may officially sign up beginning on 5 May at the offices of the National Film Distribution Center, located at 1218 25th Street, between 10th and 12th, Vedado, on business days between 800 and 1200 hours and 1330 and 1600 hours. To register, individuals must turn in a Beta video cassette, either blank or previously recorded, present their identification card, and report the brand, model, and serial number of their video player. Upon registration, the user will be informed in detail of the amount of money that must be paid to rent each film, the amount of time he may keep it, the titles he will be able to check out, and other aspects of this service. The films will be distributed as of the second half of June. [Text] [Havana GRANMA in Spanish 29 Apr 86 p 1] 8926

CSO: 3248/459

BISHOP LONA DISCUSSES TEHUANTEPEC CEB'S, POLITICAL GROUPS

Mexico City CHRISTUS in Spanish Mar 86 pp 36-46

[Article entitled: "The CEB's and Popular Movements in the Isthmus," by Monsignore Arturo Lona, bishop of Tehuantepec]

[Text] I am a bearer of greetings from the lovely, warm tropics: the Isthmus of Tehuantepec, land of encounter and communion. In our capacity, we are grateful for this unexpected invitation.

I have come to tell you an impassioned story; I have come to convey to you, in faith, "what our eyes have seen, what our ears have heard, what our hands have felt..the word of life is our theme" (1 Jn 1:1). It is the Spirit who has evoked these rich experiences; it is the Christian essence of the Church that has survived throughout history in the gentle breeze, and not in the hurricanes and powerful winds that belong to power and the erudite. We renounce power, pomp and fire, whether it be inside or outside of the Church. I have often wondered: Why Tehuantepec? I recall Francis of Assisi's experience in answering his monks' jealous questions: "Why you, Francis?" And the humble friar replied: "Even I don't know why?"

Our experience is located in Latin America; hence, it is not anything strange or unusual. We are part of the people who have been exploited and humiliated for ages. It is Tehuantepec that has also raised its cry to the God of Moses, to the liberating God, and there is no other God. We have experienced the captivity of poverty, ignorance, and exploitation. Thus, like the majority of Latin American peoples, we are an oppressed, believing people, in a process of liberation. These three features describe the moment of the process, like a dictated portrait. About 20 years ago, we were an oppressed and believing people, but asleep, resigned to our pain. These past few years have shown an awakening, a beginning, and a jolting of the soul of slaves; and, together, we are heading toward the formation of a free people.

It seems to me that this is due to two jolts: the popular movement and the Church of the poor have brought about an awakening and the incipient path "toward the new man and new society," in anticipation of the fullness of the Kingdom. A by no means easy path; in other words, harsh and cruel; but worth the trouble, provided we are prepared each day for dedication and sacrifice, so as to make possible the goal that we have set for ourselves with the aid of the Spirit.

I am no theoretician; my knapsack is fed with experience. However, I shall first try to describe the people's rise in the region; secondly, how the CEB's [Grassroots Church Communities] are faring; and, thirdly, the experience of the CEB's and popular movements. Finally, if you can stand me, I shall offer a few clues to the future, by way of conclusion.

Rise of the Popular Movement in Tehuantepec

The social context in which these movements arise will, I think, help to give a reminder of and the position of the region. It is not an exhaustive analysis of the reality.

The Economic Realm

The Diocese of Tehuantepec has 25,000 square kilometers; in other words, two thirds the size of the nation of El Salvador; the coast is rich in fish, and there are several lagoons rich in shrimp. In addition to the coast, the diocese has jungle, and both low and high mountains; therefore, the climate is varied.

Primary sector (agriculture-livestock): Located in the diocese is the No 19 irrigation system which uses the water of the Benito Juarez reservoir, with a capacity of 50,000 hectares. The ownership of the land, whether it be municipal, an Indian town, or a private area, is a constant source of conflicts, some very serious, as in the case of Juchitan. The Chontal mountain land is very poor. In the Mixe and Zapoteca area of the mountain range coffee of excellent quality is produced; there are forests with fine wood. The Zoques area is jungle, and there is considerable livestock, while fish is plentiful. Shrimp, coffee, and fruit such as watermelon, other melons, and mangoes are exported.

The growing of narcotics plants is a constant pastoral concern.

The Indian peasants and fishermen are steeped in poverty and even wretchedness. The fact is that Oaxaca has been impoverished by the caciques, landholders, and monopolists, owing to the lack of credit for townspeople and "ejido" [Indian community-held farmland] members. The government programs never reach the countryside. It is an area with potential, but it has been exploited and impoverished by a few.

Secondary sector: With the demographic explosion from oil during the last 6 years, Tehuantepec received its share. In 1981, the Salina Cruz refinery, which is the most important industry in the area by far, began operating. At present, it refines 150,000 barrels a day, and its capacity is being expanded twofold. Also, oil is exported to Japan through the port of Salina Cruz; and gasoline and diesel oil are distributed throughout the Pacific from this port.

Salina Cruz has a drydock and a shipyard; there is a plan for an industrial port and an oil port, as well as the Alpha-Omega project.

There is a cement factory, "Cruz Azul," in Lagunas, Oaxaca, which in 1983 doubled its capacity from 2,000 to 4,000 tons a day.

During 1982, the "Jose Lopez Portillo" sugar mill began its operations, as did the Okey and Coca Cola bottling plants in Juchitan. Only workers affiliated with PRI [Institutional Revolutionary Party] "benefited" from them. The beer consumption is so large that we continue to honorably hold "first place in the entire republic."

Tertiary sector: The intense commerce that exists in the region is noteworthy; the leading shopping center is Juchitan which, until recently, was the second-ranking city in population after the capital. Ixtepec, Tehuantepec, and Matias Romer have a force for their business zone of influence. Zapoteca del Istmo is very suitable for trading.

Tourism is non-existent, except for a very extensive red-light district in Salina Cruz, for the oil workers, where Guatemalan and Salvadoran women participating are exploited.

The Political Realm

The PRI-government has its different tentacles: CNC [National Peasant Confederation], CCI [Independent Peasants Central Organization], CTM [Confederation of Mexican Workers], CNOP [National Confederation of Popular Organizations], etc. The PRI-government is supported in the area thanks to the groups controlled by caciques and rich landholders. Until only 2 years ago, Salina Cruz had a municipal president of the oil workers union. But both in the mountains, and in Juchitan and vicinity, PRI controls through caciques and rich individuals. This is its strength and its weakness; real strength, because it has control, and power for making people disappear, beating, etc.; and weakness, because the people who are beginning to wake up do not accept them; they are not popular, they are imposed.

In the region, especially on the coast, the people who wanted change have been cleverly subjugated by PPS [Popular Socialist Party], which depicts itself as the "party of the poor." It has a popular base and, in fact, has gained several municipalities, such as Zanatepec, and Jalapa del Marques. I shall discuss the popular movement extensively later. Suffice it to say that it is broad and has been expanding lately throughout the entire Isthmus.

The Cultural Realm

The topic is very rich, and invites dwelling on detailed descriptions making it possible to present a profile of the Isthmus cultures, its music, dance, and embroidery, in particular. Speaking of Tehuantepec means speaking of Indians, of their oppression, their gaiety, their love for singing, flowers, and water.

The diocese is predominantly Indian. There are nine well-defined Indian cultures: coast Zapotecas, Mixes, Chontales, Zoques, mountain Zapotecas, Huaves, Mazatecos, Chinantecos, and Mixtecos.

In comparison with the national mean, for better or worse, the Isthmus falls far below it with respect to schooling. The academic level in the prep and secondary schools is very low.

The mass media are still gaining an undeniable penetration, even in very remote places. Channels 2 and 13 are picked up on TV; pictures and ideas being conveyed have been having a great influence, as has radio, especially the local one. They are owned by rich merchants and landholders who, in times of conflict, create disinformation and slander; for example, in connection with the popular and Church movement in the region. The local newspapers are known to exist, but it is not known when they will appear or disappear.

The Church

On this occasion, I shall discuss the topic insofar as it will help to position the context of the communities. There are 25 parishes in the diocese, grouped into five outlying circuits. They have approximately 50 priests (15 religious) and 150 religious women (60 in colleges). Both in the mountains and on the coast, there is now a solid group of catechists and CEB leaders.

The diocese as a whole has been acquiring an aspect very much its own. It appears as a happy, young Church, in solidarity with the poor and their liberation, which tries to work as a team, and not isolated, and does not seek privileges. In other words, the image of the venerable curate of the movie screen, or of the religious woman with her habit and wimple, is quite far removed from the new model of a servant that is emerging in Tehuantepec.

And, although in an incipient manner, one is already observing that new model of a Church in the CEB's. The religious parade in honor of Msgr Romero on 24 March was evidence and proof of the progress made by the organized, aware, Christian people.

Our pastoral project has been carried out from the base, from practice. The diocese's objective expresses it: "From solidarity and inclusion with the people..." We start from solidarity through liberating love for the poor. With them, we form communities made aware through liberating evangelization, to help form a popular Church and a just society. It is not a matter of talk. There are not many offices in Tehuantepec. Creativity and reflection come from concrete commitments. In our practice, we make the objective operative through the four diocesan priorities: analysis of the reality, Indian pastoral action, formation of agents, and CEB's which are lending an organic unity to this new way of living faith.

With this new method of experience with the Church of the CEB's, the catechesis, youth pastoral action, liturgy, etc., are being revised. And all this effort is having an indeniable impact on the knowledge and organization of the people, as I shall expand upon later.

I also wish to mention that, in this religious area, we have had strong pressure from the Church itself, unwilling to take the path according to Puebla.

Also to be considered is the constant offensive from the alienating sects, such as "Jehovah's Witnesses," the "Nazarenes," or the Mormons, etc. They are elements which are confusing and deeply dividing families and towns, and we must not close our eyes to their influence. They have an instruction which has an impact on simple people, and they take advantage of the lack of pastoral agents.

Popular Movements in Tehuantepec

With the frame of reference now delineated, albeit briefly, we shall next attempt to describe the leading popular movements in the area.

COCEI [Labor, Peasant, Student Coalition of the Isthmus]

It has its center in Juchitan, and its area of influence is mainly in the entire Zapoteca section of the coast, though not exclusively, as we shall observe.

It came into existence and gained strength after the plundering of community land that many Juchitan peasants suffered following the putting of irrigation zone 19 into operation, which brought about new entitlement. Municipal land was seized by landholders and rich cattlemen, who are still usurping it. This plunder, carried out in 1969, evoked dissatisfaction.

In 1973, several factors prompted the creation of COCEI: the awareness acquired by some Juchitan students who participated in the 1968 student movement; the division in the Juchitan PPS after Cruickshank's betrayal. A strong group promoted COCEI, as a result of the dissatisfaction of the plundered municipal residents (up until now, no election of new representatives of municipal assets has been allowed).

The work and organization of the COCEI grassroots during the following years are an example for many organizations, which only have a name as such. The leaders are really entrenched among their people. They are gaining confidence, and helping the people to understand the problems and to find solutions. In 1977, they suffered violent represssion, and several members of COCEI were killed. On that occasion, I had an opportunity to help curb the repression, and this helped to begin opening paths for dialogue.

COCEI did not come into being from the Church's consciousness-raising and organizing effort. It emerged outside, and among some of its leaders with ideological blocks against religion. Its grassroots are simple Christians.

The grassroots effort and skill of its leaders have achieved good results, when they won the municipality of Juchitan, in a tactical alliance with PSUM [Unified Socialist Party of Mexico]. They have taken advantage of circumstances to create awareness and to make improvements that none of the previous administrations had achieved, despite the economic blockade or embargo to which they have been subjected. The period 1981 was one of obvious growth. COCEI's influence even extends to areas of the Zoques (Chimalapas), Mixes (Guichicovi), and Huaves (San Dionisio, and San Francisco del Mar). In the Zapoteca area, it extends from Ixhuatan to Ixtepec.

The then liberated area of Juchitan ended with the ouster of Polo de Gyves in August 1983. The Army and state police entered, and they are still there. The repression has all the force of the system; therefore, it is confined to certain methods that will not besmirch Mexico's free and democratic facade abroad. In other words, it avoids shooting to kill. The wounds are inflicted on legs.

During this recent period, COCEI, after a tactical withdrawal and reorganization of its grassroots work, has been in a state of slow progress at the grassroots. They have launched Polo de Gyves as a candidate for federal deputy.

During the time of repression, the COCEI members experienced the solidarity of the committed communities of Tehuantepec. This surprised them, and allows for an open dialogue on faith and the liberation processes; because in Juchitan there had been little following of this popular movement by the parish.

UCIRI

This organization came into existence only 3 years ago, in connection with the coffee problems. To date, it has combined over 3,000 Indian coffee growers. The advent of this organization stems from the pastoral work done by the Santa Maria Guinagati team. About 10 years ago, this team began its work in the mountains, and in time they tried to form leavening groups. Various restless leaders emerged from that, who engaged in organizing and giving confidence to other brothers.

The opportunity gained to export coffee to Europe was the detonating factor for the coffee growers' organization. Several towns made a private agreement and sent their coffee to Europe. The results opened their eyes, because they had in their possession money that they had been unable to gather for several seasons. This weakened the "coyotes" [middlemen] and INMECAFE [Mexican Coffee Institute] in that area. The story was conveyed from one town to another, and the organization grew. This incipient organization has the challenge of creating a solid political awareness and, at the same time, responding to the challenges of evangelizing these towns on the move.

In contrast to COCEI, UCIRI has arisen from the impetus given by the Guinagati team's pastoral work. Thus, its spread has at times been carried out by pastoral agents, for example, in Tapachula, or San Cristobal.

CNTE [National Coordinating Board of Education Workers]-Local 22

The recent teachers' movement, CNTE, has one of its most solid bases in Local 22, that is, Oaxaca. Although it is true that the most aware democratic portion is located in the central area of Oaxaca, they have a good group in the Isthmus area which is already showing up as a clear majority ahead of Revolutionary Vanguard.

The teachers' struggles for economic demands have generally had but few repercussions among the peasants, because the peasants are told: "You have to hold onto the government somewhere." But the population's increasing dissatisfaction with poverty and the democratic nature of Local 22's latest battle in Oaxaca have netted them strong support from the populace.

Parents' committees are beginning to acquire awareness. Moreover, the work done in these committees of parents, who are living their faith in the CEB's has been providing a better base for the teachers' struggles. In various locations where the CEB's are on the rise, as in the case of Salina Cruz, CNTE has found greater willingness among parents.

Other Movements

There are many local popular movements in the diocese which are less well known, because they do not yet have much strength, or they are quite small. I shall name a few by way of example:

Tequisistlan Democratic Front: It rose up against the local "caciques" affiliated with PRI. The latter controlled the land and the local marble factory. The opponents managed to form an opposition front which soon gained the support of most of the factory workers and the population. It managed to win, and take over the factory. But the front later disintegrated, owing to internal disputes.

The process of struggle was followed by the pastoral team; but problems within that team itself have impeded better cooperation at times of conflict.

Chontal People's Supreme Counci: Like that of other Indian tribes, this Supreme Council has at times had the backing of the various peoples who comprise the Chontal tribe; and, on other occasions, it has had only a few people, without a social base.

ATEI: It is the branch of COCEI which came into existence in 1980, developing from 1981 to 1983. Upon the repression of COCEI, it too was hard hit, but it is still organized and working at the grassroots.

The CEB's in Tehuantepec

Now that we have the social and Church context, I shall move on to a brief description of the CEB's recent history on the Isthmus. For this purpose, I shall base my remarks on significant periods that will make it possible to establish their time.

1965: Together with the Universal Church, Tehuantepec received the impetus from the Council: inculturation, remaking community life, being a sacrament in the service of the world.

1968: Medellin arrived to jolt us with its summons to justice and liberation of the poor. The issue of liberating evangelization, and how to accomplish it, was opened.

1971: Search for solidarity and service to the Indians.

1978: At the Pastoral Agents Assembly, the diocesan objective was created, which would mark the path and commitment of Tehuantepec's particular Church.

1980: Special evaluation of the past 10 years of the diocese's pastoral activity. On this occasion, very valuable assistance was given by bishops from Brazil, Peru, and Nicaragua, as well as some Mexican bishops. Also present were several experts, for example, in Indian pastoral activity (CENAMI), theology, sociology, etc.

This evaluation and projection of pastoral work really demarcated a before and an after. Many experiences were gathered and assessed. And, as a result, they began working with greater coordination and common goals. Therein lies the seed of a joint pastoral activity. This would have its center in the formation of the CEB's in various sectors of the diocese: worker, peasant, Indian. The old and new ministries would go to live in these communities.

1981: Tehuantepec holds the 10th National Meeting of Grassroots Church Communities. The incipient work is stimulated and reinforced. This meeting had the tone inherent in the Indian context of the South Pacific region.

1982: We hold the first Diocesan Meeting of CEB's. It was evoked by the need for a better relationship and integration of the CEB's in the diocese. Particular reflection was made on the new community method of living faith. People from the Mixe, Chontal, coast Zapoteca, and mountain Zapoteca tribes participated actively.

1983: Workshop on the existence and activity of the CEB's in Tehuantepec. The brief but rich experience of the CEB's in the diocese evoked the need for this workshop. It was attended by 80 pastoral agents from 18 parishes. It was a high point on the path toward correcting and explaining our experience, as well as projecting it into the future. A probe was made of the CEB's' spirituality, and the challenges that it would have among various sectors; for example, in Indian areas where work is done as a people, and not in small groups.

1984: We collaborate and participate in the First Regional Meeting at San Cristobal las Casas; an important occasion of meeting among the South Pacific dioceses working in CEB's. An awareness was achieved that there are problems with common roots. Although there was a notable Indian presence, it was not to the extent that would reflect the reality in our region. Probing into the matter of the CEB's in the Indian world and their political participation, emerged as a challenge.

1985: We have just held the First Meeting of CEB Leaders in the diocese. Furthermore, it is now coordinated and led by the leaders themselves, with the aid of a few advisers. The leaders' experience was heard, and was a source of better awareness of their responsibility as apostles in their communities and among their people. One began to discern the local Church really impelled by these leaders: peasants, fishermen, Indians, poor women, and young people.

The popular Church of Tehuantepec began to appear, and to acquire specific features, amid contradictions, suffering, and joy.

These occasions may help to form an image of the process that some parishes and groups have been undergoing in Tehuantepec, along the evangelizing line established by Medellin and Puebla.

The CEB's and the Popular Movements on the Isthmus

The CEB's came into being based on the social situation of the people themselves with their religiosity. There are groups which also have the CEB's' spirit, with different features, depending on their individual history, origin, following, and maturing processes. It is the participation and the communion (Puebla) of the people in the Church's Christian activity that has been gradually breaking the traditional system: on the one hand, clerical, with their control of power and distribution of spiritual goods based on the laws established by the clergy; and, on the other, lay: the parishioners, the submissive sheep. The CEB's put following Jesus first (remaking) the Church, as the people of God, called and won by Jesus. This popular participation is an alternative that is not only worthwhile probing, but also backing. It is the alternative of the meeting with God, or with a biblical movement that presumes God to be manifested only in hurricanes and powerful winds as Yahweh manifested himself to Elijah on Mount Horeb (I Kings, 19:11-13). But, paradoxically, God is found in the gentle breeze where it would not occur to anyone to seek him.

In the past, the Church sought solutions among the powerful and the erudite (and to some extent it is still doing so). But the proper wisdom is not found there. The Christian aspect of the Church throughout history has survived in this gentle breeze, in non-power.

The question: What is meant by "the CEB's participation in the popular movements" and to what extent does it exist?

The question has its danger and ambiguity; it implies that there are two areas: the popular movements, and the CEB's participation in them. This could distort the reality, because there have always been Christians, whether organized or not, who have participated in popular movements in one way or another, with or without Church approval. And it could also be a methodological obstacle, because CEB's and popular movements are two realities which at times it is attempted to combine or intermingle. For needy people, the defense of their lives (something quite Christian) and their possessions comes first: "Man does not live on bread alone, but he lives on bread too." He is faced with a growing technocracy (with all its devices for exploitation, social conflict, formation of social classes, etc.), in which democracy is being annihilated, faced with this advanced capitalist system (whether dependent or not, it is a matter of degree). Types of modern democracy must be invented, giving each person not only the opportunity to be informed and to express his opinion, but also to commit himself with a mutual responsibility. In this way, human groups gradually become transformed into communities of participation and life.

This is the universality of the Gospel message that applies to every believer and unbeliever. It is the freedom of the children of God. In this way, the freedom which is affirmed too often and easily as a claim to autonomy, in opposition to the freedom of others, develops in its human reality and becomes more profound: becoming committed and desirous of achieving active, living solidarity. To the Christian, man finds true renewed freedom in the death and resurrection of the Lord, abandoning himself to God who has liberated him (Phil 2:5-8). Jesus became man and also a servant, not because of a masochistic desire, but in obedience to life and to his God, whom he called "Father."

How do I observe that the CEB's are interrelated or interconnected with the popular movements?

We have a little of everything in the diocese, but the force (in addition to being a priority) is the CEB's and the popular groups. We shall attempt to devise a typology of the relationship that the CEB's have with the popular movements (indirect, direct, contrary, etc., relationship). The main focal point of the popular movements on the Isthmus, as we have said before, is COCEI, which for awhile combined many groups, and is still operating now, with personal membership (agreements), under different names and with different styles.

I have gleaned from personal experience the different processes in which our groups are involved, and their relationship with popular movements.

Mutual aid and coexistence:

The first step for any group, whether large or small, is its formation, the mutual understanding among the participants, and the creation of an atmosphere of confidence among equals. It is an experience in popular education and communication; a first time that creates and can create the conditions making it possible for the process to advance. When the people "have their say," which they had never before been able to express, which never before had been asked or taken into consideration, a process of liberation, and personalization begins. The poor begin to feel like subjects, and no longer objects of the boss, the politician, the news media, the priest....

The vast majority of CEB's and groups called by pastoral agents or leaders trained by these pastoral agents began in this way. But this first phase became the grave of many groups which did not manage to move from their personalization process to the discovery of their social nature. For lack of follow-up, or, in many instances, for lack of clarity and conversion among the agents, these groups became bogged down in this process and died as a group. The love of neighbor that is practiced in these groups is really for the one next to them; in other words, for the relative, and the other members of the group. In this situation, we can hardly talk about unity; rather it is a process of individual personalization, which can become "individualized" and curtail the process.

It is a first experience, a phase of popular education, without a plan, and without organization outside the group.

Assistance groups:

These are groups which in some way have moved from coexistence to becoming set up as a group for others, engaged in "works of charity." There is discovered the need for carrying out collective action to help one's neighbor, to visit the sick and those in prison, to aid widows, poor (or the poorest) people, to organize bazaars, collections, etc. They are groups which make a first contact with other groups and popular movements (striking workers, peasants holding a march, etc.)

We could say that, from the standpoint of these groups, there is no relationship with the popular movements; because they see in the striking workers or marching peasants "brothers with problems," isolating them from their state of structural oppression and from the organized response which they are giving as oppressed people. They do not become integrated into the movement. They view the struggling brothers with sympathy, without being very well informed about the background. This first contact with the movements may be a genuine stirrer of knowledge, and possibly a step toward greater integration. Herein, the leader's role (whether he be an agent or a layman) is important: he may hamper the progress, or may follow it to maturation, or he may move in leaps and bounds. A little of everything has happened to us.

Solidary groups:

Many of the CEB's'groups are in this phase (the previous ones died or remained in the sacristy, or returned to the bar, or made connection with brothers in the sectors, or are still maturing). Their relationship with the more organized movements is one of solidarity and backing. It differs from the help in the form of assistance and charity, because here the strikers or peasants are already won over as a "struggling people,. as an organized movement, and not just as other poor brothers or brothers somewhat accelerated. The social conflicts that are plentiful in the area, the repression, the economic and political caciquism, the plunder of land, the lack of work, etc., have allowed them to become aware that there is something more behind the phenomena; and they begin to discern unjust structures, and feel the need to become organized, to let themselves be organized and connected. They reflect on the situation in the area of the country. Their relationship with the movements is one of solidarity and understanding. They are not inside, nor is there any organic relationship; and there is not always direct, concrete, solidarity with their own countrymen. There are groups expressing their solidarity with the people of El Salvador (which is a good thing), without engaging in an act of solidarity with an organized group, or being ready to fight in their own town, or barrio, because they are afraid (vestiges of processes of oppression and control) or because of obstacles (the dear father, or sister who refuses to leave the group). Here, again, there is a little of everything, objective and subjective factors.

Cooperative groups:

These are groups which (as a group or as members thereof) have discovered the need for uniting in order to improve their living standards, and to combat mutual problems. They are CEB's which become a small popular organization to deal with concrete problems; or they also create different organizations, but their own, activated by them: savings funds, consumer cooperatives for supplies, transportation, production, etc. They are germs of a popular organization. They learn to analyze their situation and create organizations to provide immediate responses.

They are not a popular movement, because their action is to make demands. They do not come into direct confrontation with the state or with its overall policy, but only deal with certain aspects or effects of the government's antipopular policy, of a state in economic crisis. There is the danger that, when they solve their problems, the groups may disappear. But this is an important step wherein the leaders' role is important: to accumulate collective organizational experience, and to constantly deal with new problems that cover the whole spectrum of life (from the economic, they can jump to the cultural, the political, etc.); and they discover that the struggle for freedom is something vital and for life. The interrelationship of these groups is important: meetings, common positions, internal solidarity, and discovering the common "enemy."

There are CEB's groups which operate nicely in their cooperative, but which are incapable of giving solidarity to others. They form Christian ghettos, and eventually die, generally because of internal disputes, because there is not sufficient clarity about the enemy. But as soon as they move toward popular organizations or regional popular movements: CONASUPO [National Company for Basic Commodities], or national ones such as CNPA [National Coordinating Board for the Ayala Plan], etc., they tend to join them.

Incorprated groups:

There are some CEB's groups which have become incorporated into the popular movements as such; there is a tendency that, since CEB's may disappear or establish a "partisan" affiliation with the popular movements, with their laws, discipline, etc., to overlook their voluntary participation with groups of CEB's, their former comrades. There are members of CEB's who militate in popular movements or in opposition (left) political parties, and who maintain a deep Christian sympathy and motivation, but who prefer to lead their Christian lives in the form of political militancy. They show up again in CEB's occasionally, or in the church, etc. Herein there is an unsolved problem of the CEB's: either it is a school for learning, or it is far more. I think that it is (should be) far more. Perhaps we have not yet finished learning enough about the experiences in Brazil, the Philippines, Nicaragua, etc., to sustain the constant tension of a "Church on the move." The myopia of many (parties in particular) concerning popular movements ("stealing parishioners" "gaining votes") is not helpful in this regard either.

We need some relatively clear "demarcations." There are problems of "litigation" not yet solved, either by the Church or by politicians. Behind all this lies the question: What policy should be carried out from right now into the future? I am not concerned over what is going to happen in the year 2000, but rather in the next 10 years; and I am more concerned, because the Mexican left is doing so poorly.

A Few Conclusions

"The Church on the move" involves more than the groups called CEB's, because it reaches the Indian peasant movements that want to express their Christian faith in more extensive popular organizations. They should be the conscience and offer a critical sense to the Christians who start with the idea that only God is Father, and who do not heed the popular party or movement, regardless of how good it may be, to make this critical conscience remain faithful to democratic and cooperative ideals and to the common welfare (the citizen does not live on political words alone). I think that it would be a mistake to make the organizations (Church and popular movement) a single entity, with the same goals. A Christian party of the left also seems fatal to me, one such as the right wing (or center) Christian Democratic Party, it doesn't matter which. I believe that the CEB's, as CEB's, should be primarily a liberating, religious force above suspicion; and the broader non-denominational organizations should bear the burden of the effort on behalf of justice and a new society.

The CEB's are by nature a revolutionary concept, because they literally assign the Church as their head. They are not a movement along with others such as: the charismatics, "cursillo" [lay spiritual movement] members, night worshippers, Catholic Action, etc., because they do not touch the structure of the society nor of the Church either. The CEB's are and must be different. They have been depicted as another form of parochial-diocesan renewal, whereas they are really totally radical alternatives to the parochial structure. If the true nature of the CEB's is understood, they may prove to be a threat to certain bishops and priests who are trying to remove them, if they cannot reject them directly, Even the most totalitarian governments talk about popular participation, and fear their own community organizers.

We bishops and priests have a role to play in the CEB's: it is essentially one of service. Dom Antonio Fragoso (Brazil) describes this role as one of accompanying the people, a difficult, critical role for which many of us are not prepared. We priests and bishops are servants of the truth for the people, as well as servants of the Eurcharist, and signs of unity between the CEB's and the Universal Church.

We have two courses of action: to continue with the Vatican II (Medellin/Puebla) reforms which logically lead to the Christian and Grassroots Church Communities, or else to try to restore a different, more centralized system. It is my hope and prayer that we shall have the wisdom to see that God is not in the wind, in fire, or in earthquake but rather in the gentle breeze, to which I think we can, without too much distortion,compare the movement of the Holy Spirit among the poor and among the CEB's.

Projections

I said that the progress is recent, but really significant, and we can say it impassionately, with the passion of one seeking to overcome injustices which cry out to heaven, and aspiring and sighing for a popular society and a popular Church. Although our reality has its specific possibilities in the region, nevertheless it is obviously closely related to the nation as a whole. In other words, we cannot dissociate our struggle from the national struggle and progress. Bearing this in mind, I shall cite a few points or projections in our region:

How can one follow the process of the COCEI from a pastoral standpoint? It is easy to say that there is no contradiction between COCEI and the Church of the poor; but there is no identification either. Or else the Church has not taken sides. In fact, the Church of Tehuantepec is observed to be increasingly distancing itself from the historical plan of the "caciques," and more closely approaching the popular plan of the COCEI.

The CEB's are progressing. What should be done with the agents who have a different pastoral line? While carrying out a plan, at every step taken one notes more the difference with other plans still heading in an opposite direction. What can be done not to break the unity, the cane that is still steaming? I certainly understand something about what we call pluralism, which seems to me to be a great progress in the Church. How can we talk about pluralism when the historical objectives and mediations are opposed, and one communes only in utopia?

The system's ideological war against Juchitan will break out again. This is normal. The strong person defends himself with anything so as not to lose power. The Church of Tehuantepec is helping with a theology that is suffering more persecution every day. This entails living in political conflict, for which we are often not sufficiently prepared. And there are people in between. We need a better political training. The Zapoteca Indians in COCEI have shown us and given an example of their political ability.

The increase in the aware people organized in the CEB's is a tempting morsel for the political organizations. Their job is to spread. We need a great deal of political work in the CEB's to enable their members to participate more effectively in the popular movement. Now then, it is the political militants who often are the ones most capable of offering that training. Such training can be gained from their experience. This is a challenge that is hastening in the area, because of the COCEI's political strength and its influence.

I thank you for your invitation, and trust in the Lord that some of the experience that I have attempted to convey to you will heighten your enthusiasm and affection for the Indian and the poor, and move us to serve them all our lives, as Christ has exemplified for us.
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BRIEFS

NUEVO LEON WORKER DISMISSALS--Monterrey, Nuevo Leon, 31 May--CTM's [Confederation of Mexican Workers] secretary for organization in the state, Elias Zuniga, observed that, during the first quarter of the year, between 30,000 and 40,000 part-time and permanent workers were dismissed from companies in the automotive, construction, and metalworking branches of industry. He noted that, with the closing of the Monterrey Foundry and its Flat Steel branch, the number of unemployed during the first half of this year could reach 60,000. He commented: "This is serious, because the stomach has no ideologies, either of the right or of the left." Zuniga said that the current situation, caused by the economic crisis, could end up in a social chaos that would be undesirable; and that, in three firms alone, the number of layoffs has totaled 1,100 employees. [Excerpt] [[Mexico City EXCELSIOR in Spanish 1 Jun 86 STATES section p 1] 2909

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